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# Pacific Studies

Vol.11, No.1-November 1987



# PACIFIC STUDIES

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a journal devoted to the study of the Pacific—  
its islands and adjacent countries

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# PACIFIC STUDIES

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## PELE'S JOURNEY TO HAWAI'I: AN ANALYSIS OF THE MYTHS

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### I

The cycle of myths featuring the volcano goddess, Pele, is one of the most extensive myth cycles in Hawai'i,<sup>1</sup> if not in all of Polynesia. The traditional mythology of the goddess tells of her birthplace, her genealogy, her journey to Hawai'i, her quest for a suitable home in the islands, her love affairs, her quarrels, her mercurial moods, and her role in shaping geological formations throughout the Hawaiian archipelago. Contemporary believers, Hawaiians as well as non-Hawaiians, have continued the Pele cycle by adding stories of alleged encounters with the goddess of the volcano. Of all the traditional Hawaiian deities, Pele has most successfully survived the Christianization of Hawai'i and is an important ingredient in the contemporary culture of the islands (Luo-mala 1972; Nimmo 1986).

The first published accounts of Pele's mythological adventures appear in the writings of William Ellis, an English missionary who visited the island of Hawai'i in 1823. His book has several references to Pele and brief summaries of some of the major myths. Other European visitors to the volcanoes during this period mention the goddess, but it is not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that serious collecting of the Pele myths from native Hawaiians begins. In addition to European collections, accounts of some of the myths were written by Hawaiians and appeared in Hawaiian language newspapers. Collecting of this sort continued into the early twentieth century, and it is to these efforts that we

owe our present understanding of the Pele cycle. Although traditional stories of Pele continued to be published throughout this century, they are for the most part summaries or elaborations of the myths from earlier collections.

This paper discusses one aspect of the rich Pele mythology, namely the myths in English that deal with her journey from her birthplace to her eventual home in Kī-lau-ea on the island of Hawai'i. Forty-eight versions of Pele's journey to Hawai'i were examined for this paper; they appeared over a 160-year period and range from academic accounts collected by conscientious researchers to journalistic accounts written for a popular audience. In some cases, the arrival myth is only a portion of a longer account of Pele's adventures, whereas in other cases the entire account details her journey to Hawai'i. Unfortunately, most of the accounts are English language redactions of the original Hawaiian myths. Even the Hawaiian language accounts of the late nineteenth century, at least those that have been translated (for example, Kama-kau, Kaawa, Manu, and Fornander), are redactions of a much more elaborate mythology now long forgotten. Thus, most versions of the myth are abbreviated, and often Europeanized, interpretations. Regrettably, such is the nature of much of the data available to the student of Hawaiian mythology.

Although most Hawaiians no longer know many of the traditional Pele stories, the goddess is, nonetheless, a significant part of contemporary Hawaiian culture. Stories of people seeing Pele, as well as summaries of the traditional tales, are frequently printed in the Hawai'i media (Nimmo 1986). Consequently, the press has become an important disseminator of the myths, in many ways replacing the storytellers of old Hawai'i. For this reason, I have not limited my investigation to only the myths that were collected when traditional Hawaiian culture was somewhat intact, but rather have included later accounts printed by various presses. The Pele myth is a dynamic and growing aspect of contemporary Hawai'i, and to understand it one cannot end his investigation at some arbitrary point when traditional Hawaiian culture supposedly ceased to exist. Too little research has been done on contemporary Hawaiian culture to reveal the continuity and modifications of tradition in the islands. Certainly, any investigation into Hawaiian myth cannot overlook the role of the press during the past century.

A considerable literature in English has accumulated on Pele since the Hawaiian Islands were first visited by Europeans. It is a varied literature that includes the earliest observations by Europeans, translations of traditional Hawaiian chants and stories, accounts written by native



Hawaiians, traditional accounts collected by Europeans, traditional stories rewritten for children, traditional accounts reprinted and reworked by journalists, accounts that deal with the traditional and contemporary worship of Pele, and accounts of people who claim to have seen and talked to the goddess. My own bibliography of English language sources dealing with Pele consists of well over six hundred entries. This paper examines one aspect of that literature, namely the forty-eight English language versions of Pele's journey to Hawai'i. Some of these include translations from the Hawaiian, but there are doubtless other accounts that have not been translated. Their translation and comparison to the present investigation awaits a researcher fluent in the Hawaiian language.

The purpose of this paper, then, is to analyze the extant English language versions of the myth of Pele's journey to Hawai'i. The most extensive version of this myth is first presented in its entirety. It is then examined with forty-seven variants of the myth to discuss: 1) Pele's homeland, 2) her genealogy, 3) her itinerary to the Hawaiian Islands, and 4) her quest for a suitable home in the archipelago. I conclude with a discussion of the structural motifs of the myth, the relation of the myth to other Polynesian mythologies, and the changes that have occurred in the myth over the years.

## II

One of the longest accounts of Pele's journey to Hawai'i and one that is frequently rewritten for contemporary audiences is that by Nathaniel Emerson, which appears in his book *Pele and Hiiaka* (1915), considered by many a classic in Hawaiian literature. Based on data from Hawaiian language newspapers, interviews with Hawaiians, and "papers solicited from intelligent Hawaiians" (Emerson 1915:v), the book is the story of the journey of Hi'iaka (Pele's youngest sister) from Hawai'i to Kaua'i to find Pele's lover, Lohi'au, in order to deliver him to the volcano goddess at Kī-lau-ea. Emerson uses traditional Hawaiian poetry as well as narrative passages to tell the story. The book's introduction tells of Pele's journey to Hawai'i, and since it is one of the most detailed traditional accounts, it will serve as a useful reference for discussing other accounts. It is reprinted below, with the Hawaiian language texts omitted.

According to Hawaiian myth, Pele, the volcanic fire-queen and the chief architect of the Hawaiian group, was a foreigner,

born in the mystical land of Kuai-he-lani, a land not rooted to one spot, but that floated free like the Fata Morgana, and that showed itself at times to the eyes of mystics, poets and seers, a garden land, clad with the living glory of trees and habitations—a vision to warm the imagination. The region was known as Kahiki (Kukulu o Kahiki), a name that connotes Java and that is associated with the Asiatic cradle of the Polynesian race.

Pele's mother was Haumea, a name that crops up as an ancestor in the hoary antiquity of the Hawaiian people, and she was reputed to be the daughter of Kane-hoa-lani.

Pele was ambitious from childhood and from the earliest age made it her practice to stick close to her mother's fireplace in company with the fire-keeper Lono-makua, ever watchful of his actions, studious of his methods—an apprenticeship well fitted to serve her in good stead such time as she was to become Hawaii's volcanic fire-queen. This conduct drew upon Pele the suspicion and illwill of her elder sister Na-maka-o-ka-ha'i, a sea goddess, who fathoming the latent ambition of Pele, could not fail to perceive that its attainment would result in great commotion and disturbance in their home-land.

Her fears and prognostications proved true. Namaka, returning from one of her expeditions across the sea, found that Pele, taking advantage of her absence, had erupted a fiery deluge and smothered a portion of the home-land with aä.

It would have gone hard with Pele; but mother Haumea bade her take refuge in the fold (*pola*) of Ka-moho-alii's malo. Now this elder brother of Pele was a deity of great power and authority, a terrible character, hedged about with tabus that restricted and made difficult the approach of his enemies. Such a refuge could only be temporary, and safety was to be assured only by Pele's removal from her home in the South land, and that meant flight. It was accomplished in the famed mythical canoe Honua-i-a-kea.

The company was a distinguished one, including such god-like beings as Ka-moho-alii, Kane-apua, Kane-milo-hai and many other relations of Pele, the youngest, but not the least important, of whom was the girl Hiiaka, destined to be the heroine of the story here unfolded and of whom it was said that she was born into the world as a clot of blood out of the posterior fontanelle (*nunoi*) of her mother Haumea, the other sisters having been delivered through the natural passage.



The sailing course taken by Pele's company brought them to some points northwest of Hawaii, along that line of islets, reefs, and shoals which tail off from Hawaii as does the train of a comet from its nucleus. At Moku-papápa Pele located her brother Kane-milo-hai, as if to hold the place for her or to build it up into fitness for human residence, for it was little more than a reef. Her next stop was at the little rock of Nihoa that lifts its head some eight hundred feet above the ocean. Here she made trial with the divining rod Paoa, but the result being unfavorable, she passed on to the insignificant islet of Lehua which clings like a limpet to the flank of Niihau. In spite of its smallness and unfitness for residence, Pele was moved to crown the rock with a wreath of kau-no'a, while Hiiaka contributed a chaplet of lehua which she took from her own neck, thus christening it for all time. The poet details the itinerary of the voyage in the following graphic lines: . . .

#### PELE'S ACCOUNT TO KAMOHOOALII OF THE DEPARTURE FROM KAHIKI

We stood to sail with my kindred beloved  
To an unknown land below the horizon;  
We boarded—my kinsmen and I—our craft,  
Our pilot well skilled, Ka-moho-alii.  
Our craft o'ermounted, and mastered the waves;  
The sea was rough and choppy, but the waves  
Bore us surely on to our destined shore—  
The rock Nihoa, the first land we touched;  
Gladly we landed and climbed up its cliffs.  
Fault of the youngster, Kane-apua,  
He loaded the bow till it ducked in the waves;  
Ka-moho-alii marooned the lad,  
Left the boy on the islet Nihoa  
And, pilot well skilled, he sailed away  
Till we found the land we christened Lehua.

When they had crowned the desolate rock with song and wreath, Ka-moho-alii would have steered for Niihau, but Pele, in a spasm of tenderness that smiles like an oasis in her life, exclaimed, "How I pity our little brother who journeyed with us till now!" At this Ka-moho-alii turned the prow of the canoe

in the direction of Nihoa and they rescued Kane-apua from his seagirt prison. Let the poet tell the story: . . .

Ka-moho-alii turned his canoe  
 To rescue lad Kane from Nihoa.  
 Anon the craft lies off Nihoa's coast;  
 They shout to the lad, to Kane-apua,  
 Come aboard, rest with us on the pola.  
 Ka-moho-alii turns now his prow,  
 He will steer for the fertile Niihau.  
 He sets out the wizard staff Paoa,  
 To test if Kauai's to be their home;  
 But they found it not there.  
 Once more the captain sails on with the rod,  
 To try if Oahu's the wished for land:  
 They thrust in the staff at Salt Lake Crater,  
 But that proved not the land of their promise.

Arrived at Oahu, Ka-moho-alii, who still had Pele in his keeping, left the canoe in charge of Holoholo-kai and, with the rest of the party, continued the journey by land. The witchery of the Paoa was appealed to from time to time, as at Alia-pa'akai, Puowaena (Punchbowl Hill), Leahi (Diamond Head), and lastly at Makapu'u Point, but nowhere with a satisfactory response. (The words of Pele in the second verse of the kaao next to be given lead one to infer that she must for a time have entertained the thought that they had found the desired haven at Pele-ula—a small land-division within the limits of the present city of Honolulu.) Let the poet tell the story: . . .

We went to seek for a biding place,  
 And found it, we thought, in Pele-ula—  
 Dame Kapo—she of the red-pied robe—  
 Found it in the sacred cape, Maka-pu'u;  
 The limit that of our journey by land.  
 We looked then for Kane-hoa-lani  
 And found him at Maka-hana-loa.  
 Far away are the uplands of Puna;  
 One girdle still serves for you and for me.  
 Never till now such yearning, such sadness!  
 Where art thou, Kane-hoa-lani?

O Father Kane, where art thou?  
Hail to thee, O Father, and hail to me!  
When rose the pilot-star we sailed away.  
Hail, girl who beats out tapa for women—  
The home-coming wife who watches the wind,  
The haunting wind that searches the house!

The survey of Oahu completed, and Kamoho-alii having resumed command of the canoe, Pele uttered her farewell and they voyaged on to the cluster of islands of which Maui is the center: . . .

Farewell to thee, Oahu!  
We press on to lands beyond,  
In search of a homing place.

Repeated trial with the divining rod, Paoa, made on the western part of Maui as well as on the adjoining islands of Molokai and Lanai proving unsatisfactory, Pele moved on to the exploration of the noble form of Hale-a-ka-la that domes East Maui, with fine hope and promise of success. But here again she was dissatisfied with the result. She had not yet delivered herself from the necessity of protection by her kinsman, Ka-moho-alii: "One girdle yet serves for you and for me," was the note that still rang out as a confession of dependence, in her song.

While Pele was engaged in her operations in the crater of Hale-aka-la, her inveterate enemy Na-maka-o-ka-ha'i, who had trailed her all the way from Kahiki with the persistency of a sea-wolf, appeared in the offing, accompanied by a sea-dragon named Ha-ui.

The story relates that, as Na-maka-o-ka-ha'i passed the sand-spit of Moku-papápa, Kane-milo-hai, who, it will be remembered, had been left there in charge as the agent of Pele, hailed her with the question: "Where are you going so fast?"

"To destroy my enemy, to destroy Pele," was the answer.

"Return to Kahiki, lest you yourself be destroyed," was the advice of Kane-milo-hai.

Pele, accepting the gage thrown down by Na-maka-o-kaha'i, with the reluctant consent of her guardian Ka-moho-alii, went into battle single-handed. The contest was terrific. The sea-

monster, aided by her dragon consort, was seemingly victorious. Dismembered parts of Pele's body were cast up at Kahikinui, where they are still pointed out as the bones of Pele (*na iwi o Pele*.) (She was only bruised). Ka-moho-alii was dismayed thinking Pele to have been destroyed;—but, looking across the Ale-nui-haha channel, he saw the spirit-form of Pele flaming in the heavens above the summits of Mauna-loa and Mauna-kea. As for Na-maka-o-ka-ha'i, she retired from the battle exultant, thinking that her enemy Pele was done for: but when she reported her victory to Kane-milo-hai, that friend of Pele pointed to the spirit body of Pele glowing in the heavens as proof that she was mistaken. Namaka was enraged at the sight and would have turned back to renew the conflict, but Kane-milo-hai dissuaded her from this foolhardy undertaking, saying, "She is invincible; she has become a spirit."

The search for a home-site still went on. Even Hale-a-ka-la was not found to be acceptable to Pele's fastidious taste. According to one account it proved to be so large that Pele found herself unable to keep it warm. Pele, a goddess now, accordingly bade adieu to Maui and its clustering isles and moved on to Hawaii. . . .

### PELE'S FAREWELL TO MAUI

Farewell to thee, Maui, farewell!  
 Farewell to thee, Moloka'i, farewell!  
 Farewell to thee, Lana'i, farewell!  
 Farewell to thee, Kaho'olawe, farewell!  
 We stand all girded for travel:  
 Hawaii, it seems, is the land  
 On which we shall dwell evermore.  
 The route by which we came hither  
 Touched lands not the choice of Paoa;—  
 'Twas the route of Ka-moho-alii,  
 Of Pele and Kane-milo-hai,  
 Route traveled by Kane-apua, and by  
 Hiiaka, the wise, the darling of Pele.

Pele and her company landed on Hawaii at Pua-kó, a desolate spot between Kawaihae and Kailua. Thence they journeyed inland until they came to a place which they named Moku-aweo-weo—not the site of the present crater of that



name, but—situated where yawns the vast caldera of Kilauea. It was at the suggestion of Ku-moku-halii and Keawe-nui-kau of Hilo that the name was conferred. They also gave the name Mauna-loa to the mountain mass that faced them on the west, “because,” said they, “our journey was long.”

Night fell and they slept. In the morning, when the elepaio uttered its note, they rose and used the Paoa staff. The omens were favorable, and Pele decided that this was the place for her to establish a permanent home.

(Emerson 1915:ix-xvi)

### III

Emerson's account claims that Pele was born in the land of Kuai-he-lani, which “is the name of the cloudland adjoining earth . . . the land most commonly named in visits to the heavens or to lands distant from Hawaii” (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:78). More specifically, Emerson states that the land is in the region “known as Kahiki . . . a name that connotes Java and that is associated with the Asiatic cradle of the Polynesian race” (1915:ix). “Kahiki,” the Hawaiian pronunciation of Tahiti, appears throughout Hawaiian myth as a homeland, or place of origin. The reference to Java was probably from the research of Abraham Fornander, who, through linguistic materials, tried to trace Polynesian migrations through the South Pacific to a homeland in Asia (1969 [1878]).

Ellis's account claims that Pele and her family came to Hawai'i from Tahiti (1979 [1827]:172). Kamakau reports that Pele and her family “came from Kahiki” (1964:67). However, Forbes states that “Pele was born in the land of Hapakuela, a far distant land at the edge of the sky, toward the south-west” (1880:61). Kaawa includes Ulukaa, Wawau, Polapola, and Melemele as places where the Pele family lived before coming to Hawai'i (1865:9). Ulu-ka'a is a mythical land in Hawaiian lore (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:72); *wawa'u* means “ill-natured, quarrelsome” in Hawaiian (Pukui and Elbert 1971:354), a personality trait of Pele in many of the myths; Polapola (the Hawaiian pronunciation of Bora Bora, an island near Tahiti) occurs as a mythical land in many Hawaiian myths, but is also known as the twin star of Melemele (Pukui and Elbert 1971:226). Fornander believed that Pele and her family were historical persons who came from the south after the islands were already settled and then were apotheosized in the volcano area of Hawai'i (1969 [1878]:44). Kalakaua shares this view and claims that they came “from one of the southern islands—probably Samoa” (1972

[1888]:140). The assignment of Samoa as a homeland probably came from Fornander (1969 [1878]:61). Nakuina's location for Pele's homeland was also probably taken from Fornander: "Their original habitat was Ilao-o-Mehani, somewhere about the setting sun from here and about in a line with Java or the Philippines, probably Krakatoa" (1904:22). Krakatoa is the Indonesian island destroyed by violent volcanic eruptions in the late nineteenth century, an obvious candidate for Pele's origin. Westervelt recorded many Pele myths, and several homelands for the goddess appear in them, including "the South Seas" (1905:68)); Kahiki (1909b:16); "Ilao-o-mehani, a legendary country lying far westward toward Java" (1909b:17), probably taken from Nakuina (1904:22); and "a mystical spot called Hapakuela," allegedly in Samoa (1909b:17), seemingly a combination of Forbes (1880:61) and Kalakaua (1972 [1888]:140).

An earlier account by Emerson includes a chant which is more specific about Pele's origins in Kahiki:

From Kahiki came the woman, Pele,  
 From the land of Pola-Pola,  
 From the red cloud of Kane,  
 Cloud blazing in the heavens,  
 Fiery cloud-pile in Kahiki. (1965 [1909]:188)

Kāne was the chief god in Hawai'i at the time of European contact (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:42), and red is sometimes associated with Pele. Thus, "From the red cloud of Kane" suggests that Pele was from Polapola and the red clouds of the great god Kāne. A Fornander version of the myth claims that "Pele was born at Hapakuela. It is said that this land touches the sky to the southwestward of us" (1919:524). Another Fornander account says that Pele was born at "Nuumealani" (1919:576-580), a mythical heaven that appears frequently in Hawaiian mythology (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:79-80). In a newspaper condensation of the Pele myths, Taylor claims that the goddess was "born in a far corner of heaven" (1952:C-8).

Virtually all accounts agree that Pele came from outside the Hawaiian Islands, and most commonly Kahiki is her place of origin. It is important to remember, however, that to the precontact Hawaiians, Kahiki was not the Tahiti of the Society Islands, but rather a faraway place to which Hawaiians traced many of their origins, or as a student of Hawaiian religion has recently defined it: "the invisible place . . . out of which come the gods, ancestors, regalia, edible plants, and ritual institutions" (Valeri 1985:8).

Many of the myths of Pele's journey to Hawai'i mention her kinsmen, usually her mother, father, and siblings. Manu claims that the Pele family, in general, had "power with fire and tidal waves" (1899:967). Emerson's account claims that Pele's mother was Haumea, the daughter of Kane-hoa-lani (1915:xxi). Haumea, like Pele, was able to assume the forms of an old or young woman and "is identified . . . with Papa the wife of Wakea, who lived as a woman on earth and became mother of island chiefs and ancestress of the Hawaiian people" (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:276). Haumea is considered one of the original gods and in some Polynesian cultures, as Papa, she is the female principle of creation. In another account, Emerson reports that Pele's mother was "*Honua-mea*, sacred land" (1965 [1909]:188). Forbes says that Kahinalii was the mother of Pele (1880:61). Beckwith suggests "Kahinalii" may be translated as " 'Sea caused by Kahinali'i' or as 'Sea that made the chiefs (ali'i) fall down (hina)' " (1970 [1940]:314). The former would seem more relevant to this context, since in some accounts Kahinali'i provided the sea that transported Pele to Hawai'i. J. S. Emerson lists Kupolo as Pele's mother (1885:595), a name not found elsewhere in Hawaiian mythology. Manu claims that Pele's mother was Haumea Niho-'oi (Haumea-the-sharp-toothed-one), also known as Haumea-niho-wakawaka (Haumea-with-pointed-teeth), Kanaka-o-ke-ahi (Attendant-of-the-fire), and Ka-'owaka-o-ka-lani (The-flash-of-the-heavens) (1899:942). Nakuina reports that in one version of the myth Pele is the daughter of Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i, but in the account she relates Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i is the sister of Pele (1904:22), the more common relationship. Westervelt adds Hina-alii as Pele's mother (1963 [1916]:64). Of Hina's various associations in Hawaiian mythology, perhaps the most relevant here is as the wife of Kū; together they "are invoked as great ancestral gods of heaven and earth who have general control over the fruitfulness of earth and the generations of mankind" (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:12). Beckwith further notes that when Kū and Hina are mentioned as parents in "older mythological tales" they are "a convention almost equivalent to the phrase 'In the olden time' " (1919:314). Kaawa claims that Ku-waha-ilo was Pele's father (1865:9); in this form, Kū is associated with human sacrifice and sorcery (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:29-30). According to Kamakau, Pele's father was Kapaliku with no further identification of the parent (1964:67). In the Forbes account, Pele's father is Kauehoalani (1880:61), which is probably a misspelling of the Kane-hoa-lani mentioned by Emerson (1915:ix). J. S. Emerson claims that Kuhimana was Pele's father and "that when he pointed his finger at a pali it fell to pieces" (1885:595). Another father reported by the same author is Kila (J. S. Emerson 1885:595), who appears elsewhere in Hawaiian mythol-



ogy (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:355–358), but not as the father of Pele. Manu claims that Pele's father is Kane-lu-honua (Kane-shaker-of-the-earth), who was also known as Hikapoloa (Passing-of-the-long-night), Ka-po-kinikini (The-very-dark-night), and Ka-po-manomano (The-intensely-dark-night) (1899:942–943). In the Nakuina version, Kane is the father of Pele (1904:22). Westervelt adds Moemoeaaulii as Pele's father (1909b:17).

Although the myth-makers of Hawai'i disagree regarding Pele's parentage, they nonetheless agree that she is descended from the gods, and in most cases, from the highest gods. She is not among the original gods, but rather is one of their offspring.

Pele was not an only child; in fact, if all the siblings assigned to her are counted in the myths, she may have as many as forty-four sisters and forty-seven brothers, most of whom are associated with some aspect of nature. The following lists give the names of the siblings and where the names first appear in the literature. Spellings, translations, and epithets are from the accounts cited. The names are generally arranged according to chronological mention in the literature. In some cases, I have departed from chronology in order to cluster closely related names.

### *Sisters*

1. Makore-wawahi-waa, "fiery-eyed canoe-breaker" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172). Also known as (AKA) Makole-wawahi-waa (Genealogical Board 1885:387), and Hiiaka-makole-wawahi-waa (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:70).
2. Hiata-wawahi-lani, "heaven-rending cloud-holder" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172). AKA Hiiaka-wawahi-lani (Genealogical Board 1885:387).
3. Hiata-noholani, "heaven-dwelling cloud-holder" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172). AKA Hiiaka-noholani (Genealogical Board 1885:387).
4. Hiata-taarava-mata, "quick glancing eyed cloud-holder, or the cloud-holder whose eyes turn quickly and look frequently over her shoulders" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172). AKA Hiiaka-kaalawa-mata (Genealogical Board 1885:387), and Hiiaka-kaa-lawawa-maka (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:70).
5. Hiata-hoi-te-pori-a-Pele, "the cloud-holder embracing or kissing the bosom of Pele" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172). AKA Hiiaka-hoi-ke-polio-pele (Genealogical Board 1885:387), HiiakaikaapolioPele (Kaawa 1865:9), and Ulolu (Kalakaua 1972 [1888]:141). According to J. S. Emerson (1885:595), this was a half-sister.

6. Hiata-ta-bu-enaena, "the red-hot mountain holding or lifting clouds" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172). Probably the same as Hiiakaika-puaenaena (Kaawa 1865:9), Hiiaka-kapu-enaena (Genealogical Board 1885:387). AKA Hiiaka-pua-ena-ena, "Hiiaka-of-the-burning-flower," or Hiiaka-pu-ena-ena, "Hiiaka-of-the-burning-hills" (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:70).
7. Hiata-tareiia, "the wreath or garland-encircled cloud-holder" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172). AKA Hiiaka-kaleiia (Genealogical Board 1885:387).
8. Hiata-opio, "young cloud-holder" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172). AKA Hiiaka-opio (Genealogical Board 1885:387).
9. Hi'iaka-i-ka-wai-ola, "Hi'iaka-in-the-water-of-life" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:30).
10. Hi'iaka-i-ka-maka-o-ka-'opua, "Hi'iaka-in-the-face-of-the-rain-clouds" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:30).
11. Hi'iaka-kuli-pe'e, "Hi'iaka-whose-knees-are-weak" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:30).
12. Hi'iaka-pokole-waimaka-nui, "Hi'iaka-little-one-greatly-tearful" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:30).
13. Hi'iaka-i-ka-'ale-i, "Hi'iaka-in-the-running-billows" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:30).
14. Hi'iaka-i-ka-'ale-moe, "Hi'iaka-in-the-low-billows" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:30).
15. Hi'iaka-i-ka-'ale-kua-loloa, "Hi'iaka-in-the-long-backed-billows" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:30).
16. Hi'iaka-i-ka-'ale-hako'iko'i, "Hi'iaka-in-the-agitated-billows" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:30).
17. Hi'iaka-i-ke-au-miki, "Hi'iaka-in-the-receding-current" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).
18. Hi'iaka-i-ke-au-ka, "Hi'iaka-in-the-pushing-current" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).
19. Hi'iaka-'au-au-kai, "Hi'iaka-the-sea-bather" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).
20. Hiiaka-i-ka-noho-lae (J. S. Emerson 1885:595). According to Emerson, this was a half-sister. AKA Hi'iaka-noho-lae, "Hi-iaka-dweller-of-the-capes" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).
21. Hi'iaka-i-ka-lihilihi-o-ka-lehua, "Hi'iaka-in-the-fringes-of-the-lehua" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).
22. Hi'iaka-lei-ia, "Hi'iaka-the-beloved-garlanded" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).
23. Hi'iaka-lei-lani, "Hi'iaka-the-heavenly-garland" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).

24. Hi'iaka-lei-mau-ia, "Hi'iaka-garland-ever-beloved" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).
25. Hi'iaka-kolo-pupu, "Hi'iaka-the-creeper" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).
26. Hi'iaka-kolo-pali, "Hi'iaka-who-creeps-about-cliffs" (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:31).
27. Hi'iaka-pai-kauhale (Manu 1899:988).
28. Hiiakaikapuaaneane (Kaawa 1865:9).
29. Hiiaka-i-ka-ahi-enaena (J. S. Emerson 1885:595).
30. Hiiaka-i-ka-alei (J. S. Emerson 1885:595).
31. Hiiaka-i-ka-alaihi (J. S. Emerson 1885:595). According to Emerson, this was a half-sister.
32. Lawe-ku, AKA Ka'ili-poni (Manu 1899:972).
33. Moe-hauna (Manu 1899:957). AKA Na-wahine-maka-kai-Moehauna (Manu 1899:958).
34. Na'ulahine-maka-kai, or Na-wahine-maka-kai (Manu 1899:958).
35. Kewelani. AKA Na-wahine-li'ili'i (Manu 1899:951). AKA Laka, Ulunui, and Laea (Manu 1899:974).
36. Pa'u-o-palai (Manu 1899:979).
37. Kahalai'a (Manu 1899:967).
38. Namakaokahai (Nakuina 1904:22).
39. Pelekumukalani (Westervelt 1909b:17).
40. Malulani (Fornander 1919:576).
41. Kaohelo (Fornander 1919:576).
42. Puuhele (Fornander 1919:546).
43. Kapo'ula-kina'u (Manu 1899:944). AKA Kapo (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:70), and Laka (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:118).
44. Kuku'ena-i-ke-ahi-ho'omau-honua (Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:29).

### *Brothers*

1. Kamoho-arii, "the king of steam or vapour" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172); AKA Kamohoalii (Kaawa 1865:9). Nakuina (1904:23) claims he was a twin to Pele, while Handy claims he was Pele's uncle (1964:225).
2. Ta-poha-i-tahi-ora, "the explosion in the place of life" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172); AKA Kapohoikahiola (Genealogical Board 1885:387).
3. Te-ua-a-te-po, "the rain of night" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172); AKA Ke-ua-a-ke-po (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:71).

4. Tanehetiri, "husband of thunder, or thundering tane" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172); AKA Kame-hekili (Genealogical Board 1885:387), and Kanehekili (Kaawa 1865:9).
5. Te-o-ahi-tama-taua, "fire-thrusting child of war" (Ellis 1979 [1827]:172); AKA Keoahi-kamakaua (Genealogical Board 1885:387).
6. Kahuilakalani (Forbes 1880:61).
7. Moho (Kalakaua 1972 [1888]:139). Probably same as number one above.
8. Kamakaua (Kalakaua 1972 [1888]:141).
9. Kane-wawahilani, "Heaven breaking Kane" (Nakuina 1904:23).
10. Malau (Emerson 1965 [1909]:188). Relationship to Pele not clear in the text; this may have been one of the gods who accompanied Pele on her journey.
11. Ku (Emerson 1965 [1909]:188). Relationship to Pele not clear in the text; this may have been one of the gods who accompanied Pele on her journey.
12. Lono (Emerson 1965 [1909]:188). Relationship to Pele not clear in the text. Handy claims Lono is Pele's uncle (1964:225).
13. Ka-uwila-nui, "great lightning" (Westervelt 1914:34).
14. Ka-hai-moana, "the sea waves" (Westervelt 1914:34).
15. Kane-apua (Emerson 1915:xi).
16. Kanemilohai, "he controlled ailments" (Kaawa 1865:9).
17. Holoholo-kai (Emerson 1915:xii). Relationship to Pele not clear in the text.
18. Kane-pu-a-hio-hio, "Kane-the-whirlwind" (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:5). Exact relationship to Pele not clear in the text. Probably the same as Pu-ahiohio (Rice 1923:7). Rice says he was a brother of Pele.
19. Ke-au-miki, "The-strong-current" (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:5). Exact relationship to Pele not clear in the text.
20. Ke-au-ka, "Moving-seas" (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:5). Exact relationship to Pele not clear in the text.
21. Keaulawe, "the tide" (Rice 1923:7). Exact relationship to Pele not clear in the text.
22. Kane-pohaku-kaa, "Kane-rolling-stones, or The-earth-quake-maker" (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:71)
23. Kanehoalani, "he had the knowledge" (Kaawa 1865:9).
24. Kanehulihonua, "he had the overturning of the earth and the tremors" (Kaawa 1865:9).
25. Kane-kauwila-nui, "Kane-who-ruled-the-great-lightning" (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:71). Possibly the same as number 13.



26. Kane-huli-koa, "Kane-who-broke-coral-reefs" (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:71).
27. Kenakepo, "the rain of night, the fine rain" (Genealogical Board 1885:387).
28. Kauilanuimakehaikalani, "his was the lightning" (Kaawa 1865:9).
29. Ke-ao-lele, "this brother had the body of a shark" (Manu 1899:983).
30. Kuhaimoana-the-coral-browed (Manu 1899:984). Probably the same as number 14.
31. Kanepohakaa, "stony places, rolling" (Kaawa 1865:9).
32. Kanepohaku, "his was the rocks" (Kaawa 1865:9).
33. Kanehilikoa, "breaking the coral of the ocean" (Kaawa 1865:9).
34. Punaaihoa, "eating coral" (Kaawa 1865:9).
35. Kane (J. S. Emerson 1885:595).
36. Kanaloa (J. S. Emerson 1885:595).
37. Lonomakua, "he did the lighting of the fires" (Kaawa 1865:9). Lono-makua is mentioned by Emerson as the fire-maker from whom Pele learned her skills (1915:ix); his relationship to Pele is not clear. Manu claims that Lono-makua is the uncle of Pele (1899:979).
38. Ka-huila-o-ka-lani (Manu 1899:945).
39. Kalaipahoa (Kalama n.d.:799).
40. Kuamu (Kalama n.d.:799).
41. Kanaka-o-kai (Kalama n.d.:799).
42. Ke-aweawe-ula-o-ka-lani (Kalama n.d.:799).
43. Ka-owaka-o-ka-lani (Kalama n.d.:799).
44. Kane-puaa (Kalama n.d.:799).
45. Kama-hahuli-nuu (Kalama n.d.:799).
46. Kama-kahuli-au (Kalama n.d.:799).
47. Ka-ua (Kalama n.d.:799).

One account states that Pele and her siblings were born from different parts of Haumea's body:

Ka-moho-alii (Pele's shark-god brother) was born from the top of the head. Kane-hekili (the thunder god) was born from the mouth. The third brother, Ka-uwila-nui (great lightning), found his birth place in the eye. A fourth brother, Ka-hai-moana (the sea waves), was born from an ear. The fifth brother leaped from the mother's fingers, and another from the wrist. The first sister was born from the breasts. Pele came from the thighs. The next sister from a knee; another from an ankle and another from the toes. Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele (Hiiaka in the

bosom of Pele) was born in the hollow of her brother's hand—lying there like a round egg. (Westervelt 1914:34)

Manu claims that Pele was born from Haumea's mouth as a flame (1899:944).

Most of Pele's siblings are simply mentioned in the myths and usually do not appear elsewhere in Hawaiian mythology. Only those who have a significant role in the arrival myth are discussed here.

The most important of the brothers is Ka-moho-ali'i, translated as "the king of steam or vapour" by Ellis (1979 [1827]:172). Others describe him as a shark god (Westervelt 1914:34, 1963 [1916]:63). Nukuina claims that he is the twin brother of Pele (1904:23). Emerson describes him as "a deity of great power and authority, a terrible character, hedged about with tabus that restricted and made difficult the approach of his enemies" (1915:ix). In Emerson's account he protects Pele from the wrath of her sister Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i and watches over her as he navigates the voyage from Kahiki to Hawai'i. Westervelt describes Ka-moho-ali'i as "the king of dragons, or, as he was later known in Hawaiian mythology, 'the god of sharks' . . . a sea-god [1963 (1916):5] . . . the elder brother of Pele . . . [who] called for all the family to aid Pele" in her fight with Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i (1963 [1916]:9). In this account he provides the boat that takes the family to Hawai'i. The Rice version claims that Ka-moho-ali'i, "Champion of the King," was the king of the first land that Pele visited on her voyage to Hawai'i (1923:7). In the Pitman version, after the Pele family reached Maui, Ka-moho-ali'i tired of the heat of the volcanic home, went to sea, and assumed his shark form to go fishing (1931:158). Throughout the myths, Ka-moho-ali'i appears as Pele's oldest brother, frequently as her protector on the voyage, and usually as the head steersman of the canoe. Upon reaching their final residence on Hawai'i, he continues to reside with the family in the volcanoes in some versions, or goes to the sea where he assumes his shark form in other versions.

Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i, frequently described as Pele's oldest sister, is another important figure in many of the myths dealing with Pele's journey to Hawai'i. Nakuina (1904:22) describes her as Pele's mother as well as a sister while Fornander (1916:104) claims that she is Pele's cousin. These are, however, exceptions; the majority of the myths describe her as Pele's oldest sister. She and Pele are usually depicted as rivals. Frequently, Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i is associated with the sea, and the antithesis of sea and fire symbolizes the rivalry of the sisters. In some of the myths, Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i is jealous of the male attentions Pele receives (Kaa-

wa 1865:10; Nakuina 1904:22; Westervelt 1963 [1916]:8; Fornander 1916:104). Her enmity toward Pele is bitter, and after chasing her from the homeland, she pursues and battles her to the end of her journey at Kī-lau-ea. Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i appears in other Hawaiian myths, especially as the wife of 'Au-kele-nui-a-Iku; her roles are best summarized by Beckwith:

In Thrum's Kane-huna-moku myth she is called the chiefess of the Mu and Menehune people when they are summoned to build the watercourse for Kikiaola at Waimea on Kauai, and in that story she disappears on the land of Kane-huna-moku. Her brothers in the Aukele legend have bodies of rock and her child by Aukele has two bodies, one of rock and one human. She herself has three supernatural bodies, a fire, a cliff (pali), a sea, besides the power of flying, of coming to life again if cut up into bits, and of reducing others to ashes by turning her skirt (pa-u) upon them. The land where she lives is called Ka-la-ke'e-nui-a-Kane (Great crooked sun of Kane) and is devoid of human life. (1970 [1940]:495-496)

According to Pukui and Elbert (1971:64), there were twelve younger sisters of Pele, all named Hi'iaka; however, thirty-one Hi'iakas are found in the myths examined for this paper. Handy and Pukui claim there was only one Hi'iaka, who assumed "many roles in nature" (1972 [1958]:30). According to Westervelt:

The sisters of Pele almost all bore the name Hiiaka with some descriptive adjectives. One was called Hiiaka the Heaven-Rending because she opened the sky for rain to fall. Another was Hiiaka the Canoe-Breaker, whose sign was the rainbow. Another was Hiiaka with the Red Eyes, whose sign was volcanic eruptions. Then there was the Hiiaka who was crowned with wreaths of encircling clouds. But none of these had the magic power of the one who dwelt in the bosom of Pele [i.e., Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele]. (1914:34)

Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, the youngest and favorite sister of Pele, is by far the best known of these sisters. Pukui and Elbert translate the name as "embryo carried in the bosom of Pele" (1971:64). She was so named because in some of the myths she is born as an egg that Pele carries in her bosom, armpit, or the folds of her garment until it hatches. Emer-



son, however, claims that the youngest Hi'iaka "was born into the world as a clot of blood out of the posterior fontanelle . . . of her mother Haumea, the other sisters having been delivered through the natural passage" (1915:x). Hi'iaka's unique birth, either as an egg or as a clot of blood, sets her apart from her sisters and foreshadows the magical powers she displays in other myths in the Pele cycle. Her role in the arrival myth is rather minor, but she is the central figure in the Pele-Hi'iaka cycle (Emerson 1915).

Some of the myths claim that Pele had a husband in her homeland before leaving for Hawai'i. An account in *The Islander* (1875:208) states that Lono was the husband of Pele in Kahiki, and he traveled with her to Hawai'i where he left her. Lono was important in precontact Hawai'i as the god of agriculture and fertility, and was the central deity in the Makahiki harvest festival. According to Forbes (1880:61), Pele's husband was Wahieloa, a minor figure in Hawaiian mythology, but important in several other Polynesian cultures as the father of the popular Rata (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:259-275; Luomala 1955:163). From this marriage was born a daughter named Laka and a son named Menehune. Laka (Hawaiian for "Rata") is a female in this account, but is sometimes a male god in Hawaiian mythology (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:16, 40). Laka also appears as Pele's sister in some accounts (Manu 1899:974; Handy and Pukui 1972 [1958]:118). Forbes does not identify the son with the legendary little people of Hawai'i known by the same name, but Westervelt says that Menehune was "the father of all the fairies of Hawaiian lore" (1914:34). In another account, Westervelt claims that Menehune had a son, named Ehu-a-menehune, who was the father of the legendary Menehune of Hawai'i (1909b:17). Westervelt says that Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i's husband, 'Au-kele-nui-a-Iku, took both Pele and Hi'iaka as his wives (1963 [1916]:8).

The arrival myths mention two lovers of Pele. Kaawa (1865:10) and Fornander (1916:104) claim that Pele had an affair with 'Au-kele-nui-a-Iku, the husband of her cousin Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i. 'Au-kele-nui-a-Iku does not appear further in the Pele cycle, but he does appear in other Hawaiian myths. The best known of Pele's lovers is Lohi'au. After falling in love with this handsome Kaua'i prince, she sends her youngest sister, Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, to Kaua'i to bring him to Kī-lau-ea. The adventures of Hi'iaka on this journey provide the basis for the Pele-Hi'iaka cycle (Emerson 1915). One account claims that Pele married Lohi'au while on Kaua'i searching for a suitable home shortly after her arrival in the Hawaiian Islands (Westervelt 1963 [1916]:6). Rice says she

fell in love with him at this time (1923:8), but no marriage is mentioned.

Pele's reason for leaving her homeland varies considerably among the myth-makers of Hawai'i. The Forbes account claims that she became despondent after her husband, Wahieloa, left her, so she went to look for him (1880:62). Her search eventually took her to Hawai'i. Kaawa states that Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i chased Pele from the homeland after learning of her husband's affair with Pele (1865:10). Kalakaua, who believed Pele and her family were historical personages, says the family left Samoa after being defeated in "a long and disastrous war" (1972 [1888]:140). Manu says Pele left her homeland because "she was desirous of seeking her relatives" who had preceded her to Hawai'i (1899:979). Emerson writes that "Pele was expelled from Kahiki by her brothers because of her insubordination, disobedience, and disrespect to their mother" (1965 [1909]:188). Alexander reiterates the Emerson reason for Pele's departure, but adds that in her disrespect, "She pelted her mother earth with rocks and burned her with hot lava" (1912:19). Pele's ill-natured personality is a typical feature of many myths about the goddess, but only one other account of the journey to Hawai'i mentions it: "She [Pele] was very kapu, ill natured, bad tempered and none could soothe her when angry. She ignored Haumea's words, and was always sulky and full of grudge. She was pleasant only on rare occasions" (Manu 1899:944). The Emerson version relates that Pele left her homeland because Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i was angry at her for erupting lava over a part of the homeland (1915:ix). Westervelt (1963 [1916]:4) and Rice (1923:7) say that Pele left because of a desire to see faraway lands. In another version in the same account, Westervelt says that Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i chased Pele and Hi'iaka from the homeland after her husband, 'Au-kele-nui-a-Iku, took the two sisters as wives. In the Fornander version, Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i (as Pele's cousin) chases Pele and Hi'iaka away after learning of her husband's desire for them (1916:104). Elsewhere Fornander reports that "Pele quarreled in Kahiki with Puna-ai-koae and fled from there to Hawaii" (1919:344). Puna-ai-koae appears in other Hawaiian myths (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:194-195), sometimes as Pele's lover (Pukui and Elbert 1971:397). Although the details vary, the majority of the accounts agree that a family conflict of some sort caused Pele to leave home.

Some accounts of Pele's departure claim there was no sea around the Hawaiian Islands at that time. The sea was given to Pele by her parents (sometimes her mother) to help her on her way. Ellis mentions the coming of the sea in his discussion of Pele's family (1979 [1827]:172). Forbes says that Pele brought the sea with her when she came to Hawai'i. It

poured from her head until only the high mountains of Hale-a-ka-lā, Mauna Ke'a, and Mauna Loa were visible. Eventually the sea receded to its present level. The sea was called Kai a Kahinalii (Sea of Kahinalii) because it was a gift from Kahinalii, the mother of Pele (Forbes 1880: 62). Fornander (1919:524) presents a similar account as does Beckwith (1932:188), who suggests that in the original myth the sea was probably a fire-flood rather than a water-flood. Westervelt claims that it was a great wave that Pele's mother gave her to speed her on her journey to Hawai'i (1909b:17). One of the most spectacular accounts of Pele's departure for Hawai'i is provided by Manu:

This was the manner of going: the godly uncles and most sacred brothers went on moving clouds while Pele, her sisters, and some of her brothers travelled by sea.

As they were making ready to depart, Haumea showed all her supernatural forms and all about her there was fire. The fire forms she displayed were like the modern fireworks of the whites that shower in the sky except that this is not half as bright. The volcanic fires of Haumea hummed in the sky and fire rolled over the surface of the sea like wild ocean billows. Some of the fire formed bursting bubbles in the sea, and some that did so rose straight up. . . . Columns of smoke rose to the sky like black clouds. . . . These were the forms that Haumea displayed for the last time before her daughter Pele Honuamea, to whom she was giving her supernatural mana, and to all of her other children. All of the mana were given to her children and her volcanic fires to her most beloved daughter. She became the greatest of the supernatural fire women. . . .

. . . Oh! what a terrifying sight the beginning of the journey was. It seemed as though the sky was being rent asunder. The tranquil sea began to rise in billows as high as tall precipices. Here every one stood up to shout aloud and to clap with cupped hands. After the loud sounds uttered by their uncles and them faded away, the parents vanished from the sight of their children. (1899:980-982)

Manu claims that Pele left Kahiki on her own special day, called "Ahi" (fire) (1899:979).

Emerson is the first to mention the canoe that brought Pele to Hawai'i:



She carved the canoe, Honua-i-a-kea,  
 Your canoe, O Ka-moho-alii.  
 They push the work on the craft to completion.  
 The lashings of the god's canoe are done,  
 The canoe of Kane, the world-maker. (1965 [1909]:188)

Ka-moho-alii is steersman of the canoe, according to Emerson (1915: xi). "The canoe of Kane" suggests the canoe was dedicated to the god Kāne, a common practice in Polynesia in order to secure the protection of the god. Westervelt claims that "Ka-moho-alii provided them with the great boat Honua-i-a-kea (The great spread-out world) and carried them away to distant islands" (1963 [1916]:9). Rice does not mention a name for the canoe, but says: "To help his sister in this long journey Kamohoalii gave her the canoe of their brother, the Whirlwind, Puahiohio, and his paddlers, the Tide, Keaulawe, and the Currents, Keau-ka. Stepping into this canoe Pele was snatched away at once by the wind" (1923:7).

Most accounts of Pele's journey to Hawai'i mention the persons who traveled with her. Ellis says that "the present volcano family came from Tahiti" (1979 [1827]:172), while *The Islander* account maintains that Pele and her husband Lono came together (1875:208). Manu claims that three of Pele's uncles—namely Lono-makua, Lono-aweawe-iki-aloha, and Kulia-i-ki-kaua—were members of the entourage (1899: 979). Nakuina says that Pele was accompanied by her nine younger sisters, her "dozen or more brothers," and dragons, gnomes, serpents, and sharks who served as servants and messengers or couriers (1904:23). In addition to her brothers and sisters, Pele took her grandchild Ehu-a-Menehune (father of the mythical little people of Hawai'i) as well as her daughter Laka (Westervelt 1909b:17). Kū, Lono, and Malau are added to the passenger list by Emerson (1965 [1909]:188). Westervelt includes "some of the family gods" (1914:34).

Some stories of Pele's journey tell of places she visited before arriving at the Hawaiian Islands. Forbes says she sailed first to the land of Pakuela (1880:62), which he does not identify, and then to the land of Kanaloa, one of the four major gods of Hawai'i. In the Westervelt version (1909b:18), after leaving their home Hapakuela, Pele and her crew stopped along a coast of the homeland where Laka danced to call the people together. In another Westervelt account, Pele and her group stopped at "the strange land, Hapakuela" to look for her missing husband and there her daughter Laka danced "her wonderful hulas" for two days. As they continued their journey and passed islands, "the pass-

ing of the canoe [was] attended with great floods, sometimes destroying the people and their homes" (Westervelt 1914:34). In still another version, Westervelt relates that Pele went first to Bola-Bola, then on to Kuai-he-lani, Kane-huna-moku, and Moku-mana-mana before reaching the Hawaiian Islands (1963 [1916]:5). Bola-Bola, a variant of Bora Bora, an island near Tahiti, is often mentioned as a mythical homeland in Hawaiian traditions. Kuai-he-lani "is the name of the cloudland adjoining earth and is the land most commonly named in visits to the heavens or to lands distant from Hawaii" (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:78). Kane-huna-moku ("Hidden land of Kane") was one of the twelve sacred islands under the control of Kāne and the island where he was believed to reside (Beckwith 1970 [1940]:67). Moku-mana-mana might possibly be translated as "island of divine or supernatural power"; this would be in keeping with the sacred nature of the other islands. In the Rice version (1923:7), Pele's first stop after leaving home was "the kingdom of her brother, Kamohoalii," who provided a canoe for the remainder of the journey.

Handy and Pukui claim that the "migration of Pele and her brothers and sisters had been preceded by that of her sister, Kapo, with a following of other sisters" (1972 [1958]:124). A longer account of Kapo's arrival in Hawai'i is found in Manu (1899:945-978). The entourage traveled the same route that Pele followed and introduced the hula to several of the islands it visited.

Pele's search for a suitable home in the Hawaiian Islands has been amply documented by her many biographers. In the forty-eight accounts of the arrival myth that I examined, 117 different places are mentioned as stops during her search for a dwelling place. The following list gives the place names by island. The names are listed to reflect the progress of her journey through the archipelago from northwest to southeast. Following each place name is the account where it is first mentioned. Locations are based on the *Atlas of Hawaii* (Armstrong 1983) unless otherwise indicated. Spellings are from the accounts.

### *Places in the Hawaiian Islands Visited by Pele*

1. Moku-papápa (Emerson 1915:x). Location based on myth.
2. Nihoa Island (Manu 1899:982).
3. Ka'ula Island (Manu 1899:984).

4. Niihau Island (Kaawa 1865:10).
5. Point Papaa (Rice 1923:8). Rice's account places this on Ni'ihau, but the *Atlas* places it on the east coast of Kaua'i.
6. Lehua Island (Manu 1899:983).
7. Kauai Island (Kaawa 1865:11).
8. Waimea (Rice 1923:8).
9. Kiki'ula (Manu 1899:984). Probably a variant spelling of Kikia Ola in *Atlas*.
10. Mana (Manu 1899:984).
11. Pu'u-ka-pele (Manu 1899:984). Called Puu o Pele by Westervelt (1963 [1916]:10).
12. Honopu (Taylor 1952:C-8).
13. Haena (Rice 1923:8).
14. Pila'a (Manu 1899:984). Location in Pukui et al. (1974:184).
15. Hanalei (Manu 1899:984).
16. Kilauea (Manu 1899:984).
17. Waialeale (Nakuina 1904:24).
18. Kahili (Manu 1899:984).
19. Koloa (Manu 1899:984).
20. Lawai (Manu 1899:984).
21. Wahiawa (Manu 1899:984).
22. Honomilu (Manu 1899:984). Location based on myth.
23. 'Aina'ike (Manu 1899:984). Location based on myth.
24. Manokalanipo (Kaawa 1865:11). Location based on myth.
25. Puuopalai (Kaawa 1865:11). Location based on myth.
26. Oahu Island (Kaawa 1865:11).
27. Kaena (Rice 1923:9).
28. Kuwalaka-i (Rice 1923:9). Location based on myth.
29. Mt. Ka-ala (Emerson 1965 [1909]:189).
30. Waianae (Nakuina 1904:24).
31. Kapolei (Rice 1923:9). Location in Pukui et al. (1974:89).
32. Moanalua (Fornander 1916:104).
33. Aliapaakai (Kaawa 1865:11).
34. Kealiamanu (Fornander 1916:104). Location based on myth.
35. Koolaupoko (Westervelt 1909b:18).
36. Konahuanui (Emerson 1965 [1909]:189).
37. Pele-ula (Emerson 1915:xii). Location in Pukui et al. (1974:183).
38. Puowaina, or Punchbowl (Nakuina 1904:24).



39. Leahi, or Diamond Head (Nakuina 1904:24).
40. Hanauma (Rice 1923:9).
41. Ihiihilauakea (Westervelt 1909b:18). This is listed as the Hawaiian name for Koko Head by Westervelt, but Pukui et al. (1974:55) identify it as a "crater west of Hanauma Bay" and give Kohelepele as the Hawaiian name for Koko Head (ibid.:115).
42. Koko Head (Westervelt 1909b:18).
43. Makapu'u (Emerson 1915:xii).
44. Moloka'i Island (Kaawa 1865:11).
45. Maunaloa (Nakuina 1904:25).
46. Kalaupapa (Kaawa 1865:11).
47. Kauhako (Kaawa 1865:11).
48. Kalawao (Rice 1923:9).
49. Kawela (Nakuina 1904:25).
50. Kaholoapele (Kaawa 1865:11). Location in Pukui et al. (1974:65).
51. Lana'i Island (Manu 1899:983).
52. Kahoolawe Island (Manu 1899:983).
53. Maui Island (Kaawa 1865:11).
54. Puulaina (Forbes 1880:62).
55. Mauna Kahalawai (Lyons 1962:19). Probably a variant spelling of Kano'olewa Ridge in *Atlas*.
56. Lihau (Nakuina 1904:25).
57. Molokini Island (Nakuina 1904:25).
58. Kalaakama'oma'o (Lyons 1962:19). Location based on myth.
59. Lua Pele (Lyons 1962:19). Probably the crater called Pu'u o Pele in the *Atlas*.
60. Haleakala (Kaawa 1865:11).
61. Hanakaieie (Fornander 1916:104). This is found in Pukui et al. (1974:40), where it is described as an "island beyond Nihoa mentioned in old chants." Fornander, however, locates it in Kahikinui in southeast Maui.
62. Na iwi o Pele (Emerson 1915:xiv). Spelled "Kaiwio Pele" in *Atlas*.
63. Ke-ala-a'e (Manu 1899:986). Location based on myth.
64. Nanualee (Manu 1899:986). Spelled Nanu'alele in *Atlas*.
65. Hana (Manu 1899:985).
66. Hale-o-Pele (Manu 1899:985). Location based on myth.
67. Hill of Hina'i (Manu 1899:985). Listed as Pu'u Hina'i in *Atlas*.

68. Alau (Manu 1899:986).
69. Wai-ka-'akihi (Manu 1899:986). Location based on myth.
70. Paukela (Manu 1899:987). Location based on myth.
71. Naholaku (Manu 1899:987). Location based on myth.
72. Maua (Manu 1899:987). Location based on myth.
73. Kuanunu (Manu 1899:987). Location based on myth.
74. Kaki'o (Manu 1899:987). Location based on myth.
75. Mai'ai Hill (Manu 1899:987). Location based on myth.
76. Maneoneo Hill (Manu 1899:987). Location based on myth.
77. Pohaku-o-Pele (Manu 1899:988). Location based on myth.
78. Keoihuihu (Kaawa 1865:11). Location based on myth.
79. Ale-nui-haha Channel (Emerson 1965 [1909]:189).
  
80. Hawaii Island (Kaawa 1865:11).
81. Mookini (Fornander 1919:526). Location in Pukui et al. (1974:157).
82. Pua-kó (Emerson 1915:xv).
83. Hu'e Hu'e (Manu 1899:990).
84. Puuloa (Fornander 1919:526).
85. Makaulele (Fornander 1919:526). Probably a variant of Maka'ula-'ula found in *Atlas*.
86. Mauna Loa (Kaawa 1865:11).
87. Moku-a-weo-weo (Manu 1899:990).
88. Honuapo (Kalakaua 1972 [1888]:140).
89. Keauhou (Kalakaua 1972 [1888]:141).
90. Malama (Westervelt 1909b:19). Location in Pukui et al. (1974:143).
91. Leleiwi Point (Fornander 1919:526).
92. Ke-ahi-a-laka (Manu 1899:989). Location in Pukui et al. (1974:100).
93. Kapoho (Green 1928:19).
94. Moi-a-poko (Green 1928:19). Location based on myth.
95. Kukahe-kahe (Green 1928:19). Location based on myth.
96. Green Lake (Westervelt 1910:11). Called "the Water of Pele" by Green (1928:19), a translation of the Hawaiian name "Wai-a-Pele" supplied by Pukui et al. (1974:221).
97. Kini (Green 1928:21). Location based on myth.
98. Kauapaka (Green 1928:21). Location based on myth.
99. Puu-lena (Green 1928:21).
100. Pohaku-a-heule (Green 1928:21). Location based on myth.
101. Puna (*The Islander* 1875:208).

102. Little Kilauea (Green 1928:21). Same as Kilauea Iki in *Atlas*.
103. Puu-oni-oni (Green 1928:21). Probably same as Pu'u One in *Atlas*.
104. Uwe-kahuna (Green 1928:21). Location in Pukui et al. (1974:216).
105. Pu'ula (Manu 1899:988). Location based on myth.
106. Ke-awa-o-Pele (Manu 1899:988). Location based on myth.
107. Poho-iki (Manu 1899:988). Location based on myth.
108. He'eia (Manu 1899:989). Location based on myth.
109. Ka'auwea (Manu 1899:989). Location based on myth.
110. Kaniku (Manu 1899:990). Location based on myth.
111. Kaulanamauna (Manu 1899:990). Location based on myth.
112. Wai-o-Ahukini (Manu 1899:990). Location based on myth.
113. Kahuku (Manu 1899:990). Location based on myth.
114. Kilauea (Kaawa 1865:11).
115. Halema'uma'u (Manu 1899:989).
116. Ka-lua-o-Pele (Apple and Apple 1972:A-12). Pukui et al. locate it on Oahu (1974:79); however, according to the article, this is the Hawaiian name for Hale-ma'uma'u.
117. Panaewa (Emerson 1915:xi). Location in Pukui et al. (1974:178).

Most of the myths simply list the places Pele visits as she moves through the archipelago from northwest to southeast until she eventually settles in Kī-lau-ea on Hawai'i island. The chronology of Pele's itinerary coincides with the geological age of the islands, and the places she visits are all volcanic formations. In most of the myths, as Pele digs to build a home with her digging stick, called "the divining rod Paoa" by Emerson (1915:x), she encounters water that is, of course, anathema to her fires. Not until she reaches Hawai'i island does she finally succeed in making a home without the intrusion of water. In some of the myths, the water is personified as Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i, Pele's oldest sister who chases her from the homeland. Scattered throughout the myths are more detailed accounts of Pele's activities as she searches for a suitable home.

In the Emerson account, Pele and her family leave their younger brother Kāne-āpua at Nihoa Island because "he loaded the bow till it ducked in the waves" (1915:xi). When they sailed on toward Ni'ihau, Pele felt pity for the brother they left behind, and instructed the steersman to turn back to rescue him. After the boy was reunited with the family, they sailed on for Ni'ihau. Manu says that Pele's brother Ke-ao-lele, who had a shark-body, was left at Nihoa, and her brother Kū-hai-moana was left at Ka'ula (1899:983). In the Rice version, Pele is befriended on Ni'ihau by a "queen" Kaoahi, whose name is translated

as "the Fire-Thrower." Upon meeting Pele, Kaoahi is so impressed by her great beauty that "great aloha grew in the heart of the queen for her guest, and before eating together they took the oath of friendship." Kaoahi held a ten-day celebration in Pele's honor and people from all over the island came to pay respect to her. Then one day Pele disappeared, and Kaoahi called her priests to determine where she had gone. They told her that Pele was a deity and that she had assumed another of her forms (Rice 1923:7-8).

Upon leaving Ni'ihau, Pele continued on to Kaua'i where she met her sisters who had preceded her and who, as mediums, "were great favorites with the people they possessed and helped in healing diseases" (Manu 1899:984). Traveling on, she came upon "a rude enclosure where the people were gathered for sports." There she met "a very handsome man, Lohiau, the king of Kauai, whom she suddenly resolved to seek for her husband." Lohi'au consented to be her husband, and after being presented with a skirt made of sweet-scented ferns by Lohi'au's sister, Pele left to find a suitable home so the marriage could take place (Rice 1923:8). This account and Westervelt (1963 [1916]:6) are the only traditional accounts of the arrival myth that introduce Lohi'au. As noted, Pele's desire for him and Hi'iaka's quest for him provide the central theme of the celebrated Pele-Hi'iaka cycle of stories and chants. It is noteworthy in the Rice account that, upon leaving Lohi'au, Pele takes the form of an old woman as she searches for a home. She assumes this form in many other myths, but this is the only mention of it in the arrival myths. In a Westervelt account, Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i encounters Pele on Kaua'i and a tremendous battle ensues between the sisters: "Pele was broken and smashed and left for dead" (1963 [1916]:10). Pele was not dead, and she left Kaua'i to travel on to O'ahu in search of a suitable home.

In most accounts, Pele first arrives at Ka'ena Point on O'ahu. At Kuwalaka-i, she squeezed the juice from seaweed for drinking water (Rice 1923:9). During her search on O'ahu, Pele left Laka (her daughter in some accounts) near He'eia at a place called Ke Ahu a Laka (Westervelt 1909b:18). At Pūpū-kea, Pele turned some of her followers into stones "so that they might become immortal" (Sterling and Summers 1978:145; Whitten 1972:B-16). Fornander says that "Pele and Hiiaka took up their abode in Kealiapaakai, at Moanalua, where they dug down into the ground and made a home. On coming from Kauai they brought some red dirt and some salt with them and deposited these things in their new home. Because of this fact these places were given the names of Kealiapaakai and Kealiamanu" (1916:104). Fornander



provides no translations of these place names, but the former suggests "salty tears" while the latter connotes a salty plain. The area referred to is the Salt Lake area. A variant of the myth claims that Pele was pursued from Kaua'i by the half-man, half-hog demigod Kama-pua'a. Escaping him, she arrived with her family at Moana-lua and fell in love with the spot. After building a home there, Kama-pua'a arrived and once again the family had to flee. Before leaving, Pele shed tears at having to depart her new home and her tears formed Salt Lake (Robinson 1972:E-4). At Hanauma, Pele appeared as a beautiful woman before a group of men preparing to leave in a canoe for Moloka'i. Her beauty was so stunning that the men fainted. When they awakened, she asked them to take her to Moloka'i and they readily consented. Upon going ashore at Moloka'i, Pele became invisible and disappeared (Rice 1923:9).

Some accounts mention La-na'i island and Ka-ho'olawe island as places where Pele stopped, but no details of sites visited are given. Place names are mentioned for Moloka'i island, but no detailed accounts of activities are given for the island.

More is available about Pele's adventures on Maui island while searching for a home. Nakuina says that Pele spent considerable time at Lihau mountain in West Maui. After everything was made comfortable there and "the fires in good working order, she left the most of her family in charge of West Maui and moved on to the eastern portion of the island." She then settled in Hale-a-ka-lā, where "she lived and worked for ages . . . until dissensions and wrangles between those members of her family whom she left in charge of the Lihau fires" resulted in eruptions that destroyed the beauties of Lihau. In disgust, she left Maui for Hawai'i (Nakuina 1904:25). Pitman elaborates on the events that led to the destruction of the home at Lihau:

It seems that Kamohoalii, the most powerful and highly endowed of her brothers, tiring of the heat of his volcanic home, had assumed his shark form and gone a-fishing. To propitiate his brothers for his temporary defection, he had ordered immense quantities of *awa* to be supplied to the volcanic gods. The elder gods enjoyed their potations hugely, and fell asleep one by one. Lonomakua . . . way down in the subterranean fire pits, was unaware of the libations to themselves of his bibulous brothers, and kept up the fires without any controlling orders from the others. The fires grew hotter and hotter. . . . A large opening appeared and the sea rushed in. A vast amount of

steam was generated and explosions followed. . . . Pele and her sisters were so disgusted with the actions of their brothers that she left Maui altogether, and located on Hawaii. (1931:158)

Manu reports that while Pele was on Maui, a man built a house and said it would not be occupied until Pele entered it. He did not keep his word and ate the food intended for Pele. She was offended, chased him to the beach, and turned him to stone (Manu 1899:988). Emerson (1915:xiv) is the first to describe the most violent of the several conflicts between Pele and her relentless pursuer, Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i. Pele was living at Hale-a-ka-lā when her sister and "a sea-dragon named Ha-ui" caught up with her. A great battle ensued during which parts of Pele's dismembered body were cast at Kahiki-nui "where they are still pointed out as the bones of Pele (*na iwi o Pele*)" or Kaiwio Pele as it is spelled in *Atlas of Hawaii* (Armstrong 1983). Although Pele's body was destroyed, she continued to Hawai'i in her spirit form.

Not surprisingly, Hawai'i—the only Hawaiian island with active volcanoes—has the greatest number of places associated with Pele. According to Fornander (1919:526), Pele first arrived at Mo'o-kini where she "stood before the image . . . [and] offered sacrifices there." Mo'o-kini is the site of an important *heiau* (temple) on the northernmost point of Hawai'i. Westervelt (1905:69) claims that after settling on Hawai'i, Pele had various quarrels with the chiefs of the area including Kama-pua'a, the half-man, half-hog demigod of O'ahu. Fleeing from him, she moved from the seashore through a series of places (present-day dormant craters) until she reached Kī-lau-ea, where she found security and a permanent home. In another account, Westervelt says that a god named 'Ai-lā'au resided in Kī-lau-ea prior to the arrival of Pele (1910:13). However, he was so intimidated by Pele that he ran away before she arrived and was never seen again. At Kī-lau-ea, Pele selected a cliff to honor her brother Ka-moho-ali'i, the navigator on her voyage to the Hawaiian Islands. It is called Uwekahuna, or Pali-kapu-o-Kamohoali'i (the sacred cliff of Kamohoali'i), and "no smoke or fumes from the crater is ever allowed to blow that way" (Pitman 1931:158–159). When Pele finally found a suitable home on Hawai'i, "the Paoa staff was planted in Panaewa and became a living tree, multiplying itself until it was a forest (Emerson 1915:xi). Thus, Pele settled into Kī-lau-ea, from where she set upon the various adventures recounted in Hawaiian mythology.



## IV

An analysis of the forty-eight versions of Pele's journey to Hawai'i reveals a basic structure of seven motifs. All motifs are not found in each version, but an examination of all versions reveals a recurring structure.

Motif 1: Pele is born of divine parents in a mythical homeland. The myths do not always agree as to which gods are Pele's parents, but virtually all are in agreement that she has divine parentage.

Motif 2: Upon reaching adulthood, a conflict develops between Pele and someone else, often her oldest sister Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i.

Motif 3: The conflict ultimately results in Pele leaving her birthplace, usually with an entourage of brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

Motif 4: After leaving her birthplace, Pele and her entourage voyage to Hawai'i, sometimes stopping at mythical lands en route.

Motif 5: Pele reaches the Hawaiian Islands and searches for a suitable home, traveling in a northwest to southeast direction, from Ni'ihau to Hawai'i.

Motif 6: As she digs in the islands seeking a home, Pele encounters the sea and must look elsewhere. Frequently, it is her encounters with Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i (sometimes described as a sea goddess) that necessitate her seeking another home.

Motif 7: Eventually, after trying many places throughout the Hawaiian archipelago, Pele settles into Kī-lau-ea volcano on the island of Hawai'i, which becomes her permanent home.

Although the creation of Hawaiian literary artists, the Pele cycle of myths is obviously from the tradition of myths found throughout the rest of Polynesia. Certain features of the arrival myth (not to mention other Pele myths) are common in Polynesian oral literature.

The myths claim that Pele is the child of gods. Many of the favorite mythical characters of Polynesia are the children or direct descendants of gods, including Māui, Tahaki, Rata, and Hema (Beckwith 1940:26). Typically, they have greater interaction with humans than do their august parents, and the tales of their adventures are more numerous.

The unnatural birth of Pele and other members of her family is another common feature of Polynesian mythology. In one account (Westervelt 1914:34), Pele is born from her mother's thighs while her brothers and sisters come from other parts of her body. Hi'iaka, Pele's favorite sister, is sometimes born as an egg (Westervelt 1914:34) or as a clot of blood (Emerson 1915:x). Examples of such unnatural births

abound in Polynesian mythology. In Marquesan legend, Ono was prematurely born as an egg, while Tohe-Tika was born from his mother's ear (Handy 1930:104, 107). Tahitians claim that Māui was born immature with eight heads (Luomala 1955:88). Mangaiaans say that Tinirau's mother plucked him and five other children from her body where they had sprouted (Gill 1876:4-6).

Conflict of some sort that causes the hero to leave home for a series of adventures is also typical of Polynesian myths. Frequently, the conflict is with family members, as with Pele, and the defeated party leaves with other kinsmen to seek domicile elsewhere. In Easter Island myth, the discoverers of that island left their homeland because of quarrels with relatives (Metrax 1957:208-209). A myth from the Tuamotus claims that Raroia island was first settled by a chief fleeing defeat on an island in the east (Suggs 1962:236). Maori myths frequently claim that conflicts caused the ancestral Maori to leave their homelands (Orbell 1985:33).

The flood that transports Pele from her homeland to the Hawaiian Islands in some versions of the myth is widely found in Polynesian literature. An early, and still good, discussion of the flood motif in Polynesian mythology is found in Dixon (1916:2-40).

Polynesian mythical journeys are often taken in special boats, frequently named and often with the protection of the gods, and sometimes having supernatural abilities (Luomala 1955:7). Pele had such a boat to take her to Hawai'i, called *Honua-i-a-kea*, or sometimes "the canoe of Kane." Examples from other parts of Polynesia include the canoe *Oteka* that transported the mythical founder Hotu Matu'a to Easter Island (Englert 1970:48). In Tuamotuan myth, Rata's canoe, *Te-Ao-pikopiko-i-Hiti*, carried him over the seas to avenge his parents (Stimson 1937:126). In Maori myth, also, it is frequently a special canoe built by Rata that brought the ancestors to New Zealand (Orbell 1985:33).

The quest for a suitable home took Pele to numerous mythical and real places where she encountered various people and adventures. Such quests are rampant in Polynesian myth cycles, including those of Māui, Tahaki, Rata, and Tinirau (Luomala 1955).

The arrival myth is filled with place names as Pele travels to (and through) the Hawaiian Islands. Many students of Polynesian mythology have commented upon the Polynesians' fondness for listing places (for example, Beckwith 1919:314; Luomala 1946:779). The Pele myth is no exception in this respect.

Many of the minor characters in the Pele myth appear in the mytho-

logies of other Polynesian peoples. For example, Laka, Kū, Hina, Kāne, and Lono are common mythical characters throughout much of Polynesia (Luomala 1955).

As Pele moves from place to place within the Hawaiian Islands, her digging (and sometimes her battles with Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i) result in geological formations that are still visible in the islands. Such etiological tales are myriad in Polynesia. For example, Māui was responsible for fishing up many islands from the ocean floor throughout the South Pacific (Luomala 1955:86), while the Samoans claim the god Tangaloa threw a rock from his home in the heavens that became the first island (Luomala 1946:785). The myths of Kupe and other culture heroes in Maori tradition explain the origins of various geological features in New Zealand (Orbell 1985:27).

During Pele's most violent battle with Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i on the island of Maui, her body was torn apart. Pele, however, survived dismemberment and continued on to Hawai'i where she took up permanent residence in Kī-lau-ea. As noted by Beckwith (1940:27), dismemberment and survival of this sort is a common motif in Polynesian mythology.

Chadwick and Chadwick note that a characteristic of Polynesian myth is "the wealth of detail which characterises the narratives everywhere. . . . We are told the motives which cause the chiefs to set out on their long voyages, and something of their home life . . . the misfortunes which overtake them on their voyage, their sojourn in foreign lands" (1940:259). Certainly this characteristic is typical of the Pele myth as evidenced by the preceding summary.

Luomala describes the "hero-cycle" as "one of the most characteristic literary types of Polynesia . . . [which] is basically an oral account of the biography of a hero told in prose interspersed with chants" (1940:367). Although this paper discusses only one aspect of the Pele cycle, namely her journey to Hawai'i, the total cycle fits Luomala's definition of the hero-cycle found throughout Polynesia.

In another publication, Luomala divides the traditional literature of Polynesia into three periods: 1) the mythical period, 2) the exploratory or migratory period, and 3) the settlement period. "Traditions about the exploratory or migratory period tell of the reasons for the departure from Hawaiki [the homeland]; the explorations which culminated in the discovery of the new home . . . ; the conquest or relationship worked out with previous settlers there, if any; and the initial colonization of the new land" (1946:780). Clearly, the myth examined here belongs to this category of Polynesian literature.



Although the Pele cycle of myths is the creation of Hawaiian artists, the name "Pele" appears in the mythologies of other Polynesian peoples. In Henry's account of the gods in ancient Tahiti (1928), she writes:

The heat of the earth produced Pere (Consuming-heat), goddess of the fire in the earth . . . a blonde woman . . . ; then came Tama-ehu (Blonde-child). . . . Fire was those gods' agent of power; it obeyed them in the bowels of the earth and in the skies. They were the chief fire gods. (359)

The great goddess Pere (Consuming-heat) must be goddess of spontaneous burning of the earth. Tama-ehu (Blond-child), the brother of Pere, must be god of heat in the nether lands. Pere has light down in the earth, without heat; above is the fire ever burning. Awe-inspiring is the residence of Pere down in the earth, great are her attendants that follow her below and above the surface of the world. (417)

Henry further notes that the uninhabited islets of Tubai near Bora Bora in the Society Islands are considered Pere's home (1928:104), and that "Ti-'ara'a-o-Pere (Standing place of Pere)" is a place name in Tai-a-rapu district on Tahiti (1928:86). A myth from the islands of Tufai in the Society Islands relates that two beautiful young women appear in the evening to pick blossoms and disappear in the morning as wizened old women. "They are said to be Pere under the name of Te-'ura-iti-a-hotu . . . and her attendant sister Hihi-rau-onini . . . also called Hi'iata-i-te-pori-o-Pere" (Henry 1928:577).

A brief account from the Tuamotu Islands claims that the island of Fakarava "lost its top from the anger of Pere." The same account mentions that a chief from Fakarava named Pere went to Hawai'i (Vaihi) and returned with stones of sulphur that "are still called 'Tutae-i-Pere'" (Young 1898:109). Another account from Fakarava claims that at one time a mountain of fire was located in the center of the island, but the god Pere took the mountain and left a hole through which he entered and traveled until he came out in Hawai'i (Caillot 1932:65-66). The same writer reported that the inhabitants of the western Tuamotu Islands present dramas mixing pantomime, gymnastics, melodrama, and mythology. "Pele" (note the spelling) plays an important role in these performances (Caillot 1909:41). It is noteworthy that Pere, or Pele, is referred to as male in both of Caillot's accounts. Large coral rocks on the island of Ana, also in the Tuamotus, are said to have been

tossed up by Pere "one time in anger from the bed of the ocean" (Henry 1928:577).

In Rarotongan traditions, Pere is the daughter of Mau-ike, the god of fire, and fire was called either the "fire of Mau-ike" or the "fire of Pere" (Smith 1899:74). "Para-whenua-mea," in Maori tradition, "is emblematical for the traditional Deluge, and for the destruction of the face of nature caused thereby" (Smith 1913:159). The Maori name is almost identical to "Pele-honua-mea," a Hawaiian name for Pele that occurs in a traditional chant describing the waters that brought Pele to Hawai'i (Emerson 1965 [1909]:188).

Fornander's attempt (1969 [1878]:51) to equate the Samoan octopus deity Fe'e with Pele is not convincing. He suggests that Fe'e and Pele are cognates; however, the cognate for *fe'e* in Hawaiian is *he'e* and means "squid, octopus" (Pukui and Elbert 1971:59). Westervelt reports that "Mahuike, the god of fire in Samoa, drove his daughter away. This daughter passed under the ocean from Samoa to Nuuhiwa. After establishing a volcano there, the spirit of unrest came upon her and she again passed under the sea to the Hawaiian Islands where she determined to stay forever" (1963 [1916]:67). No name is given for the daughter, nor is any source for the data provided. The latter part of this account is certainly recent since the Samoans were unaware of the Hawaiian Islands prior to European contact. The name "Pele" appears as a suffix in Puakamopele, a Tongan female deity who has a pig's head and a woman's body. One myth claims that in response to a prayer to her, "a flame appear[ed] near the goddess, which was a sign that the prayer was to be answered" (Gifford 1929:294).

Beckwith reports that the presence of Pele in Tahiti is "said to be due to late contact with the Hawaiian group" (1970 [1940]:178). However, her presence in the other above-mentioned islands suggests that she was a widespread, albeit minor, deity throughout Polynesia. Although not impossible, it seems unlikely that Pele was introduced to all of the above-mentioned islands after European contact, a period of heavy Christianization and disintegration of indigenous religions. If the traditional mythologies of other island groups in eastern Polynesia were better known, perhaps the distribution of Pele would be found to be even greater. For example, it seems possible that she was known in the Marquesas—especially in light of the archaeologically revealed historical relationships between those islands and Hawai'i. It is perhaps significant that "dancing flames" were considered female by the Marquesans (Dening 1980:62). Despite her wide distribution, however, it appears that Pele was always a very minor deity outside the Hawaiian Islands.

Mahuike was typically the god of fire in central Polynesia, and Handy (1927:118) believes that "Mahuike was without doubt the god of vulcanism in the ancient pantheon."

Although the forty-eight accounts of Pele's journey to Hawai'i published during the past 160 years share many similarities, certain changes have occurred in the myth over the years. One such change is a trend toward simplification. For example, later accounts tend to eliminate many of the place names unfamiliar to contemporary readers or to replace them with more familiar names. Also, the names of the lesser brothers, sisters, and other characters are often eliminated by modern storytellers. Reasons for this are obvious. Many of the writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were recording the myths from native Hawaiians or were native Hawaiians themselves (to whom the many places and persons were still meaningful) in order to document the rapidly disappearing oral traditions of Hawai'i, and were concerned that the myths be recorded as completely as possible to preserve them for posterity. On the other hand, more recent writers have published the myths for different reasons, namely to entertain a general reading public. Virtually all of the more recent accounts of Pele's arrival can be traced to one of the earlier accounts, with modifications that make the myths more palatable to contemporary tastes.

Another change occurs in the places visited by Pele in the Hawaiian Islands before arriving at her home in Kī-lau-ea. In general, obscure place names have been eliminated. Also, however, there is a tendency for modern writers to add place names, and often these reflect the residence of the writer. For example, Green's account (1928) is from Hawai'i island and has many more place names from there than from any other island. Even in traditional accounts, however, storytellers probably tended to dwell upon local place names. For example, Manu (1899) is from Maui and many place names from that island appear in his version, whereas Rice (1923) collected his account from Kaua'i and, not surprisingly, more Kaua'i place names occur in his account than in others.

Except for one of the traditional accounts (Rice 1923), Pele is always depicted as a young woman, often beautiful. However, in other myths, she is also described as an old woman, and in contemporary myths, sometimes even as a dog (Nimmo 1986:135).

Another change is in the personality of Pele, less obvious in an examination of the arrival myths only but more evident when one considers the total cycle. In many of the arrival myths, Pele is the object of abuse



by others. She is chased from her homeland because of her sister's anger or jealousy, usually due to no fault of her own. She is relentlessly pursued and attacked until she finally finds security in Kī-lau-ea. This is quite a different Pele from the volatile goddess described in other traditional myths (as well as in contemporary stories) where she is depicted as temperamental, unpredictable, vengeful, and sometimes downright cruel to those around her. Only in three accounts of the arrival myth are personality flaws of this sort mentioned (Manu 1899; Emerson 1965 [1909]; Alexander 1912).

This article has examined forty-eight English language versions of the myth of Pele's journey to Hawai'i. The discussion has included Pele's birth in a mythical homeland, her extensive family, her reasons for leaving home, her itinerary to the Hawaiian Islands, and her travels in the islands until she finally settles into Kī-lau-ea volcano, which becomes her permanent home. It has been noted that seven motifs comprise the basic structure of the myth, and that the myth shares many features with the mythologies of other Polynesian cultures. Finally, the paper has revealed changes that the myth has undergone since it was first recorded more than 160 years ago.

## NOTE

1. Unless otherwise stated, orthography of Hawaiian words and deities follows *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Pukui and Elbert 1971) and orthography of place names is from *Place Names of Hawaii* (Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini 1974). Spellings of words not found in either of these books are based on the accounts in which they appear.

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OF CANOES AND CASTAWAYS:  
REASSESSING THE POPULATION OF TONGAREVA  
(PENRHYN ISLAND) AT CONTACT

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Introduction

Toward dawn of an early January morning in 1853, the brig *Chatham*, an American trading vessel out of San Francisco, ran aground on a reef off the southwest coast of Tongareva, Northern Cook Islands. Supposing this isolated and little known atoll to be populated by cannibals, the fourteen crew and passengers were relieved to find themselves physically unmolested. They were conducted ashore and taken into different atoll families with whom they were variously destined to stay for between three and fifteen months. Among the castaways was E. H. Lamont, a trader who had chartered the *Chatham* on its ill-starred voyage and who spent almost exactly a year ashore before being rescued to Rarotonga. There, he began work on an account of his experiences of atoll life (Lamont 1867), which Buck properly describes as "one of the best narratives of first-hand contact with a group of Polynesian people before they were influenced by western culture" (1932:8; see also Maude 1968:173). Supplemented with more fragmentary records (especially Chamisso 1821, 3:217-219; Choris 1822:14-16; 1826:20; Johnson 1841; Kotzebue 1821, 1:162-168; Sinclair 1841; Snow 1969 [1853]; Wilkes 1845), Lamont's work forms the foundation of a contact-era ethnography that is arguably more precise and comprehensive than that of any other Polynesian atoll (Buck 1932; Campbell 1985).

It is unfortunate, therefore, that the population of Tongareva early in 1853—the year commonly taken to mark the first significant European contact<sup>1</sup>—is less certainly known than is the contact population of most other atolls. Norma McArthur, in her now-classic investigation of Pacific demography, inclined toward a figure of 500 to 700 for its “mid-century population” (1968:185–186, 190).<sup>2</sup> In reaching this conclusion, she dismissed as “improbable and baseless” an undated estimate of 1,300 inhabitants by the LMS missionary, William Gill (1856), and relied instead on a claim by his colleague, Royle (1865), that there had been 700 people before the arrival of Peruvian slavers in July 1862; and on William Wyatt Gill’s (1863) later findings that in early 1863 there were only 88 people on the atoll, with a further 130 absent in Tahiti and “more than 250” taken by the slavers to Callao. Further research now puts the number recruited by the Peruvians at approximately 472 (Maude 1981:11), thus supporting Royle’s figure of 700.

Since McArthur’s work, however, further data have come to light that form the basis of a much higher estimate of the contact population. Following his escape from the atoll in a makeshift boat, the *Chatham’s* captain, George Snow, reported the presence of “about 2500 natives” (Snow 1967 [1853]:509; Wheeler 1967 [1854]:512). Meanwhile Lamont, rescued to Avarua, Rarotonga, obliged the inquiries of LMS missionaries by estimating the population at “about 1500 or 2000” (Pitman 1853/1854). Taking the mean of these latter figures, Andrew Campbell has recently suggested “a working estimate” of 1,750 for the contact population (1985:33), arguing that Lamont’s figures are preferable to Snow’s because Lamont traveled extensively around the atoll and was there almost a year compared to Snow’s eleven weeks.<sup>3</sup>

These two, widely differing estimates pose obvious and fundamental problems for the interpretation of Tongarevan history and contact-era culture. To begin with, they lead to radically different conclusions about the depopulating effects of Western contact. In early 1862, Tongarevans numbered no more than about 690 (W. Wyatt Gill 1863; Maude 1981:11). McArthur’s estimate therefore implies little or no depopulation, whereas Campbell’s suggests a spectacular loss of nearly two-thirds in less than a decade. Campbell attributes this decline to introduced disease and widespread famine (1985:33–36), and there is evidence for the presence of both during this period (Mrs. Buzacott n.d., cited in Campbell 1985:34; A. Buzacott 1858; W. Wyatt Gill 1862; 1863; 1876:11–12; 1883; 1885:31, 127). On the other hand, the only documentary records of *deaths* from either cause are of an unspecified number apparently attributable to disease introduced by the *Cha-*

*tham* castaways (Lamont 1867:174, 264–266) and a death caused by influenza sometime between 1854 and 1858 (A. Buzacott 1858).<sup>4</sup>

The two estimates also lead to significantly different interpretations of those aspects of contact-era social life—such as warfare, economic structure, and political complexity—that may be influenced by demographic factors. The discrepancies are therefore of particular concern to students of archaeology, cultural ecology, and cultural evolution, who have increasingly come to recognize the Pacific islands as unique “laboratories” for the comparative study of cultural and ecological processes and whose analyses frequently incorporate demographic variables (for example, Cordy 1986; Goldman 1970; Kirch 1984; Sahlins 1958). The problem is compounded by the unfortunate comparative implications of the two estimates. With a land area of 9.73 square kilometers (Survey Dept. n.d., cited in Campbell 1985:29), Tongareva’s contact population density, by Campbell’s estimate, was about 180 per square kilometer, among the highest of any Pacific atoll of comparable size.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, McArthur’s figures yield a density of only 50 to 70 per square kilometer, one of the lowest in the entire Pacific.

Until these differences are resolved, then, both the particular and cross-cultural value of the otherwise exceptional Tongarevan data remain seriously undermined. Toward resolution, this article examines and analyzes two events from the atoll’s early contact history in which counts were made of canoes and inhabitants “coming off” the atoll to visiting vessels. While these data yield no estimates of the atoll’s total population, they do provide a reliable basis for its *conservative* estimation. The results indicate that Campbell’s 1,750 rather than McArthur’s 500–700 estimate is the more probable figure for the mid-century population, a conclusion corroborated by internal evidence in Lamont’s account. In addition, there are grounds for supposing that Campbell’s estimate is more definitive than this and other evidence warrants, and I therefore suggest that the atoll’s contact-era population is more appropriately set at  $2,000 \pm 500$ .

### The Visits of the *Rurick* and the *Porpoise*

The first European sighting of Tongareva occurred in poor weather on the morning of August 8, 1788, when the crew of H.M. Transport *Lady Penrhyn* “saw a low flat island, bearing east to north east seven or eight miles distant” (Watt 1789:244). It was another 28 years, however, before Europeans first made contact with the inhabitants. Cruising in a northwesterly direction, the Russian exploring vessel *Rurick*, under the



command of Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue, sighted Tongareva at three o'clock on the afternoon of April 30, 1816. By five o'clock, the vessel was lying three miles "from the southern part of this group," but nightfall prevented any attempt at landing. The ship had apparently been seen on shore, but no canoes came off (Kotzebue 1821, 1:162).<sup>6</sup>

The next morning, Kotzebue moved the ship "under the lee of the group" (*ibid.*; almost certainly, this would mean the western side of the atoll: see Campbell 1985:39). At eight o'clock, "in still water, only a couple of miles from the shore," he noticed "many people running about, others hastily pushing their boats from the shore, while others, from the more distant islands, were already making their way towards us" (Kotzebue 1821, 1:162). The vessel lay to and Choris, the ship's artist, counted 14 canoes approaching (1822:15). A short distance from the ship, they halted, and the occupants "commenced a song, with quite a sorrowful melody" (Kotzebue 1821, 1:163). Following a brief period of exploratory barter, a count revealed 26 boats crowded around the ship, Kotzebue indicating that they contained "three hundred savages" (*ibid.*). Toward noon, bad weather prompted him to move on, but before departing he counted "thirty-six boats, with three hundred and sixty men, whose numbers would have encreased, if we had remained any longer, as already we saw several canoes coming up to us" (*ibid.*:167).<sup>7</sup>

There is some disagreement on the numbers in these canoes. Chamisso counted "from seven to thirteen people" in each (1821, 3:217). Choris claimed "*de six à treize hommes*," but went on to say that some carried as many as 20 (1822:15; 1826:20).<sup>8</sup> Kotzebue reckoned that they carried "twelve men conveniently" and had "from twelve to fifteen men on board" (1821, 1:163, 166), though the latter hardly agrees with his estimates that 26 canoes contained a total of 300 people and 36 canoes had 360 men on board (*ibid.*:163, 167). Withal, though, it seems safe to conclude that there were at least 10 people on average in each canoe.

Virtually all of the canoeists were male. Chamisso noted "women in three boats only" (1821, 3:218); any doubts over whether he meant three women or three canoes full of women are dispelled by Kotzebue's comment that "I cannot judge [of the appearance] of the women, as I only saw two of them, and they were old and very ugly" (1821, 1:165).<sup>9</sup> It appears, then, that at least 257 males gathered around the *Rurick* at the time of the initial count (297 if Kotzebue is to be believed) and at least 357 males at the time of the final tally.

The second European visit of importance to this study was that of the *Porpoise*, a brig of the United States Exploring Expedition under com-

mand of Lieutenant Commandant Ringgold. The ship came upon the island on the afternoon of February 15, 1841, and, according to Wilkes's official account (1845:296),<sup>10</sup> stood off and on the western coast all night. Shortly after sunrise on the sixteenth, a large number of canoes were seen starting from the shore. By seven o'clock, the first two had reached the ship, and around 7:20 A.M., Johnson, the ship's lieutenant, noted that four were now alongside, each containing "from 6 to 16 persons," totaling "about 40 natives" (Johnson 1841). At about this time, Sinclair, the acting master, reached the deck to find, in addition to these "four or five" canoes, "about fifteen more approaching" (1841). Shortly thereafter he noted, "The canoes now in sight, about twenty, contained from 200 to 250 natives" (ibid.), a number that accords with Johnson's estimate of "two hundred twenty five" (1841).<sup>11</sup> Of these, no more than two or three were women (Sinclair 1841; Wilkes 1845:298). It seems, then, that around 225 males had started for the *Porpoise* shortly after sunrise and had arrived within about an hour to an hour-and-a-quarter.<sup>12</sup>

### The Contact-Era Population of Tongareva

If  $N$  is taken to be the shipboard count of the males around the *Rurick* or the *Porpoise*, if  $P$  is the proportion of the atoll from which these males were drawn, and if  $R$  is their ratio to the total population of this atoll proportion, then Tongareva's total population,  $T$ , is approximately given by the equation

$$T = \frac{N}{P \times R} \quad (1)$$

Unfortunately, neither  $P$  nor  $R$  are known for either visit, but measures can be derived that are almost certainly *overestimates* of each parameter, which, in turn, will yield *conservative* estimates of  $T$ , the total population.

If the males around the *Rurick* and the *Porpoise* were drawn from the entire atoll, then  $P$  would assume its maximum value of unity. However, two lines of argument suggest that  $P$  was at most a half and quite probably no more than a third. The first argument is based on the amount of time it would take the Tongarevans to reach the two vessels in question. Tongareva is one of the larger atolls in the Pacific. At its narrowest

extent, the lagoon is about 7 miles across; at its widest some 15 miles. Although it was possible to walk around much of the atoll at low tide, the fleeter mode of transport was outrigger canoe.

Tongarevan canoes were made of *Cordia subcordata* planking sewed together with cord and plugged with coconut husk, a construction with an inconvenient tendency to leak, necessitating constant bailing (Lamont 1867:151–152, 195). These canoes were usually paddled, though a disposable coconut-leaf sail was sometimes employed before a favorable wind (Chamisso 1821, 3:219; Lamont 1867:151–152, 242–243). Although some Hawaiian canoes could apparently reach 11 to 12 miles an hour under paddle (Parsonson 1963:27, n. 61), most Pacific canoes—under paddle or sail—seemed unable to reach much more than half that speed under sustained conditions (Gladwin 1970:99; Patterson 1967 [1817]:103; Wilson 1968 [1799]:379). The Tongarevan canoe was apparently no more swift. Lamont provides several observations on intra-lagoon travel that indicate an average speed of about 4 mph (3.5 knots) (1867:196, 303, 243, 246), though one trip may have averaged as much as 5.5 mph (4.8 knots)—a war canoe paddled by 30 warriors took “nearly two hours” to travel “some eight miles” between the islets of Mangarongaro and Tokerau in hot pursuit of another vessel (ibid.:195).<sup>13</sup>

These figures are important for they indicate that even if all of the atoll's males had set off for the *Rurick* or the *Porpoise* at the same time, and even if the two vessels were located off the narrowest part of the atoll, people from the far side would not start to arrive until, at the very least, one-and-a-quarter to one-and-a-half hours after the first arrivals. The *Rurick*'s final count of 357 males was taken shortly before noon, so the possibility that most of the atoll's males had then arrived cannot be discounted. However, the accounts leave little doubt that the initial tally of 26 canoes occurred well within an hour-and-a-quarter of the first arrivals. For their part, observers aboard the *Porpoise* counted about 225 men setting off for the ship well within an hour-and-a-quarter of one another. Now, if Lamont's data are reliable, the atoll's population was fairly evenly distributed around its cays in the early part of the nineteenth century (1867:287).<sup>14</sup> It therefore follows that the 225 men around the *Porpoise* and the 257 or so males around the *Rurick* represented, at most, the male population of only one-half the atoll. In other words,  $P$  can be taken as  $\leq 0.50$ .

An objection, of course, can be made that the male inhabitants of the atoll, having glimpsed the vessels the previous evening, had all gathered



together during the night and had come off en masse at dawn, a circumstance that would invalidate the above value of  $P$ . This, however, seems improbable on three grounds. First, the inhabitants of the far side of this large atoll quite probably never saw the visiting vessels. As Lamont (1867:143) indicates, the far shores were only visible on a clear day, and palms on the intervening islets would, in any case, tend to obscure vessels in the ocean beyond. Second, the organization of such a massing would be seriously hampered by the difficulties of predicting the vessels' courses during the night and their movements at dawn. In any case, there is evidence that the islanders were reluctant to travel abroad at night for spiritual reasons (ibid.:251, 294).

Third, and perhaps most important, a near-perpetual state of enmity existed among the islets, which would have made such a hastily convened gathering difficult and precarious. According to Lamont (1867: 169, 225, 230, 262, 341; see also Campbell 1985:73–74), the islets were united into three largely endogamous political “alliances.”<sup>15</sup> Mutually antagonistic toward one another and frequently at war, these groups kept very much to themselves, coming into peaceful contact only after elaborate ceremonial preparations and declarations (Lamont 1867:133–143). In fact, the existence of this enmity strongly suggests that the men around the *Rurick* and the *Porpoise* would be drawn solely from the alliance in the immediate vicinity. They would therefore represent about one-third at most of the atoll's total male population.<sup>16</sup> If this line of argument is accepted, then,  $P$  can be taken as  $\leq 0.33$ .

The second factor needed to convert the counts from the *Rurick* and the *Porpoise* into total population is some estimate of  $R$ , the ratio of counted males to the total population of the atoll proportion from which they came. None of the observers aboard the *Rurick* and the *Porpoise* made age estimates of the men in the surrounding canoes. Those aboard the *Rurick* referred only to “men” and “hommes” as opposed to “boys” or “children,” but such omissions do not necessarily bespeak the presence of adults alone. By contrast, Sinclair, aboard the *Porpoise*, specifically mentions the presence of “boys,” whom he seemed to distinguish by their lack of beard (1841). Given these age-related uncertainties,  $R$  would certainly be overestimated (and the atoll's total population therefore underestimated) if it were assumed that *every* male from proportion  $P$  of the atoll had come off and been counted. Since there is no evidence of infanticide—selective or otherwise—on Tongareva, and since women and children were always spared in war (Lamont 1867:133; Moss 1889:106), this assumption yields a value of  $R \leq 0.50$ .



It seems improbable, however, that infants and toddlers would be taken out to unfamiliar vessels without their mothers and without any shipboard source mentioning their presence. If it is supposed, then, that the age of the youngest male in the canoes was 5 years old, some idea of the difference this would make to  $R$  can be obtained by assuming the Tongarevan age-sex pyramid was approximately symmetrical and triangular, which would correspond to a population close to stability in a demographic sense and nearly stationary in numbers (Smith and Zopf 1976). By simple geometry, the ratio,  $R$ , of males  $Y$  years old or older to total population for such an age-sex pyramid is given by the equation

$$R = \frac{(L-Y)^2}{2L^2} \quad (2)$$

where  $L$  is the age in years of the oldest Tongarevan inhabitant. Taking  $L$  as unlikely to exceed 80 (the larger the value of  $L$ , the larger will be  $R$ , and the more conservative will be  $T$ ), and setting  $Y$  at 5, yields  $R = 0.44$ . This value, in fact, changes only slightly even if the deviation from a triangular pyramid is considerable. Needless to say, if Tongarevan birth rates were relatively high, as seems quite possible, the age-sex pyramid would be concave in shape, so that a value of 0.44 would overestimate  $R$  (and underestimate  $T$ ) even further.<sup>17</sup>

Combining these various values of  $P$  and  $R$  into total population estimates,  $T$ , yields table 1. These figures indicate that even in the improbable eventuality that every male on the entire atoll, from the youngest to the oldest, had come off to the *Rurick* and was included in the final count, the population of Tongareva would still be slightly in excess of 700, McArthur's maximum figure for the precontact population. If every male except infants and toddlers had come off, the population

TABLE 1. Estimates of Tongareva's Total Population ( $T$ ) (*Rurick* and *Porpoise*)

	$N$	$P=1.00$		$P=0.50$		$P=0.33$	
		$R=0.50$	$R=0.44$	$R=0.50$	$R=0.44$	$R=0.50$	$R=0.44$
<i>Rurick</i> (initial)	257	514	584	1,028	1,168	1,558	1,770
<i>Rurick</i> (final)	357	714	811	1,428	1,623	2,164	2,459
<i>Porpoise</i>	225	450	511	900	1,023	1,364	1,550

Sources: Chamisso 1821; Choris 1822, 1826; Johnson 1841; Kotzebue 1821; Sinclair 1841; Wilkes 1845.

would have been more than 800. Needless to say, it seems highly probable that no more than half of the atoll could have reached the vessels in time for the initial counts, indicating that the population was at least 1,028 in 1816 (1,168 if infants and toddlers were left ashore) and at least 900 in 1841 (1,023 if infants and toddlers were left ashore).

Even these, though, are highly conservative estimates. They assume that, regardless of existing states of enmity, every single male, from the newest born (or from age 5) to the very eldest, who could possibly be carried to the *Rurick* or the *Porpoise* in time to be counted, came out. If slightly less conservative assumptions are adopted, and it is assumed that every single male over the age of 5 from a single Tongarevan alliance came off, then the 1816 population was at least 1,770 and possibly 2,459 or higher, while the 1841 population was at least 1,550. These figures compare favorably to Lamont's estimate of the late 1853 population.

McArthur's estimate of no more than 700 as Tongareva's mid-century population thus seems highly improbable unless the atoll had undergone significant depopulation between the earlier half of the century and 1853 and unless Lamont's and Snow's estimates were badly in error. Unfortunately, there is no independent corroboration for the accuracy of these latter sources, but internal evidence in Lamont's work, though less substantial than the data from the *Rurick* and the *Porpoise*, lends them some credence.

### The Wreck of the *Chatham*, 1853

Lamont's writings include two items of information that can be used as a check on the accuracy of his and Snow's population estimates. About halfway through his stay, while touring the atoll to assess its pearl-shell resources, he was present when an invasion fleet from Sararak [Sarereka] descended on the islet of Motunono. The fleet, he observed, comprised "several canoes, containing about one hundred warriors" (Lamont 1867:289). Given the excitement preceding an attack, such an estimate is of dubious accuracy, but its value lies in the identity of the invaders. Lamont spent most of his year ashore living among the Sararakians and he was therefore well acquainted with their fighting strength. The figure of 100 warriors, then, may not be an accurate estimate of the invading force, but it is unlikely to overestimate the total number of warriors that Sararak could muster.<sup>18</sup>

A second fragment of evidence centers on the islet of Matunga [Motunga]. Lamont happened to be on the islet when news arrived that its

enemies were preparing for war. The Matungans, he wrote, immediately began to refurbish "several canoes," amongst which were "three large war canoes" (Lamont 1867:336). The construction and maintenance of Tongarevan canoes required considerable investments of material, time, and labor; war canoes were particularly demanding because they were larger than those used in day-to-day transportation and were more frequently dismantled and recaulked (Campbell 1985:82; Lamont 1867:151–152, 237, 336). It is therefore plausible to suppose that the Matungans would build or refurbish no more fighting vessels than they needed. Lamont saw 30 warriors in one war canoe (1867:195) and elsewhere noted another three carrying a total of 60 warriors into battle (*ibid.*:346).<sup>19</sup> Accepting the more conservative of these figures and ignoring the smaller canoes also being refurbished, this evidence suggests that at least 60 warriors lived on Matunga.

These figures can be converted to total atoll populations with the methodology outlined above. Assuming that *all* postpubescent males were warriors and that the Tongarevan age-sex pyramid was approximately symmetrical and either triangular or concave,  $R$  becomes  $\leq 0.33$ .<sup>20</sup>  $P$ , the proportion of Sararakian and Matungan warriors to all Tongarevan warriors, is estimated as follows. At least 121 different Tongarevans can be unambiguously distinguished in Lamont's account; of these, 24 were from Sararak and 15 from Matunga. If ambiguous distinctions are allowed, 156 different Tongarevans are distinguishable, of whom 26 are from Sararak and 20 from Matunga. These figures yield  $P$  values of 0.17–0.20 Sararakians and 0.12–0.13 Matungans to every Tongarevan. Now, Lamont spent most of his stay on these two cays; Sararak was his first home, Matunga his second. It follows that their residents would figure disproportionately in his account, so that using these figures for  $P$  will overestimate the actual proportion of Sararakian and Matungan population to total atoll population and thus contribute to conservative estimates of Tongareva's total population,  $T$ .

Combining these values of  $P$  and  $R$  into total population estimates,  $T$ , yields table 2. In light of the highly conservative assumptions built into

TABLE 2. Estimates of Tongareva's Total Population ( $T$ ) (Lamont)

	$N$	$P$	$R$	$T$
Sararak	100	0.17–0.20	0.33	1,515–1,782
Matunga	60	0.12–0.13	0.33	1,399–1,515
Sararak & Matunga	160	0.29–0.32	0.33	1,515–1,672

Source: Lamont 1867.



these calculations, these figures must be considered to corroborate Lamont's and Snow's estimates that Tongareva's 1853 population was in excess of 1,500 as opposed to McArthur's claim that it did not exceed 700.

### Conclusion

The balance of the evidence presented here must weigh strongly in favor of Campbell's "working estimate" of 1,750 Tongarevans at contact (based on Lamont's "1500 or 2000") and against McArthur's 700 (based on later missionary sources). Unfortunately, the data do little to discriminate the accuracy of Lamont's 1,500–2,000 from Snow's claim that there were 2,500 inhabitants. If, for example, the males in the canoes around the *Rurick* indeed came from only one of the three alliances on the atoll (that is,  $P \leq 0.33$ ), and if they included only a small proportion under the age of 15 (that is,  $R \leq 0.33-0.44$ ), then the population of Tongareva would be more accurately estimated at 2,400 to 3,200. And if the population was at these levels in the early part of the century, there is no reason why they might not be at similar levels thirty to forty years later.

This difficulty in discriminating between the two *Chatham* estimates is unfortunate since there is reason to question Campbell's dismissal of Snow's figure of 2,500. Campbell, it will be recalled, preferred Lamont's figures because Lamont had spent more time on the atoll and had traveled more extensively around it. But these arguments neglect several important points. Though Snow's sojourn was only a quarter of Lamont's, he was present during the first fortnight, when most of the atoll's inhabitants gathered ceremonially to welcome the new arrivals. Moreover, while it is unclear if he circled the entire atoll, he did tour it extensively to reconnoiter the pearl beds (Lamont 1867:223). More important yet, in contrast to Lamont's figures, which evidently refer to the population at the time he *left* the island, Snow refers to a period *before* diseases and wars attributable to the castaways had seriously affected Tongarevan population levels. The Tongarevans blamed the *Chatham*'s crew and passengers for two disease epidemics that broke out during their stay, accusations that seem justified by their epidemiology (Lamont 1867:174, 264–266). The first epidemic was not serious, proving fatal only "in one or two cases"; "few died, and these only children" (ibid.:174, 266). But the second was more deadly, "carrying off their warriors, their best men." The islanders claimed they "had never any sickness like this before we came" (ibid.:266)—on the most



affected islets, the number of funeral feasts was sufficient to deplete coconut reserves seriously (ibid.:273). To add to these losses, the *Chatham's* crew and passengers succumbed to the frequent propensity of castaways to feud among themselves, a state of affairs that sucked the Tongarevans into warring that otherwise they might have been spared (ibid.:262, 313–314, 344–347).

Snow, however, left the island on March 22 or 24, after the first, mild epidemic but before the second, serious outbreak, and before the European presence had begun significantly to influence the level of violence. In contrast to Lamont's estimate, then, Snow's figure refers to a period before European influences on population had become pronounced, and, in the absence of further evidence, there seems as much or more reason to prefer his 2,500 to Lamont's 1,500 to 2,000. Campbell's figure of 1,750 thus seems more precise than the data warrant, and a more appropriate estimate would perhaps be  $2,000 \pm 500$ .<sup>21</sup>

Such an estimate significantly reduces the current uncertainty about Tongareva's contact population. It unambiguously establishes the atoll as one of the most densely populated in the Pacific for its size range, a conclusion with obvious implications for the interpretation of Tongarevan warfare and social structure. It thereby renders convincing the comments of early visitors such as Kotzebue that the population "appeared to me so numerous, in proportion to the island, that I cannot, even now, think how so many can find subsistence" (1821, 1:162–163; see also Johnson 1841). And, perhaps most significantly, it leads to the ineluctable conclusion that the population of Tongareva suffered a spectacular decline during the period 1853–1862.

## NOTES

This paper stems from an ongoing research project, based on fieldwork in Melanesia and archival research on Polynesia, on the relationships between population and political evolution in the Pacific. I am grateful to the Richard Lounsbery Foundation and the American Museum of Natural History for support during its writing and to Bob Carneiro, Harry Shapiro, and two anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier drafts.

1. The shipwreck of the *Chatham* and the marooning of its crew and supercargo is commonly taken as the date of the first significant European contact with Tongareva. Prior to that year, the atoll's reputation as the abode of cannibals had kept foreign visits to a minimum. These include the brief visits of the *Rurick* in 1816 (Chamisso 1821; Choris 1822; 1826; Kotzebue 1821), the *Peruvian* in 1827 (Anon. 1967 [1828]:495–496), the *Glide* in 1830 (Endicott 1923:30–31), the *Ceres* in 1836 (Cleland 1834–1837), the *Franklin* in 1840 (Riddell 1837–1841), the *Porpoise* in 1841 (Johnson 1841; Sinclair 1841; Wilkes 1845), the *Roman* in 1844 (Shockley 1843–1845), the *Moctezuma* in 1845 (Tower 1844–1847), and

the *N. P. Tallmadge* in 1850 (Milford 1848–1851). With the exception of the *Moctezuma*, which lay offshore for two days, none of these contacts lasted for more than a few hours (see Campbell 1985 for a summary). Almost certainly, however, there were other visitors, though their records have yet to be discovered.

2. Buck (1932:9) and Alkire (1978:83) estimate the contact population to have been “about 2000” and “from 600 to 1200” respectively, but these figures are little more than educated guesses.

3. The *Chatham* ran aground between the fifth and seventh of January. Snow departed on either March 22 or 24 (Anon. 1967 [1854]:518, 519; Lamont 1867:104; Snow 1967 [1853]:507, 509; Wheeler 1967 [1854]:513).

4. Campbell also attributes the decline to emigration (1985:33–35), but it is possible that the figures for 1862 take these migrants into account.

5. Compare with the following approximate contact-era densities (per square kilometer) for Pacific atolls in the 5 to 15 square kilometer range: Beru 160, Butaritari 110, Manihiki-Rakahanga 130, Marakei 125, Onotoa 125, Ontong Java 170, Puka Puka 120, Vaitapu 80 (Bayliss-Smith 1974:280, 286; Bedford et al. 1980:231, 235, 238; McArthur 1968:187, 188; Maude 1981:192; Carter 1984:469; Wood and Hay 1970:5).

6. Choris, the ship’s artist, has: “*Au coucher du soleil, on aperçut des hommes sur une pointe sablonneuse de la côte septentrionale du groupe*” (1822:15; emphasis added). The ship’s course, however, indicates that Choris had confused north and south.

7. Chamisso confirms the latter canoe count (1821, 3:217), a significant point since neither source apparently consulted the other in producing their reports (ibid., 3:436).

8. Choris’s engraving of the scene (1826: Plate 11) depicts two canoes with five crew, one with seven, one with eight, one with about nine, one with eleven or twelve, and one with fourteen. Artistic license is apparent, though, for the size of the crews increases from the foreground to the background.

9. Only one woman can be identified in Choris’s engraving of the scene (1826: Plate 11).

10. Wilkes was aboard the *Vincennes* and did not visit Tongareva himself: his official account is compiled from records kept by the *Porpoise*.

11. These figures yield 10 to 13 people per canoe, which accords with the numbers estimated by the *Rurick*. As with the *Rurick*, two canoes were noted to be large, with “15 or 16 men in each” (Sinclair 1841). Five years earlier, Cleland (1834–1837) had noted “11 or 12 men and women” in each of eight or nine canoes alongside.

12. On February 16, the sun rises on Tongareva at approximately 6:02 A.M. local time (AENA).

13. The distance between the islets of Mangarongaro and Tokerau varies from about 8.5 to 10.7 miles because of their length and orientation (Wood and Hay 1970:59). To err on the side of a conservative estimate of *T*, the latter figure has been used in deriving the canoe speed of 5.5 mph (4.8 knots).

This speed is almost certainly an overestimate. Equipped with sail, Tongarevan canoes seem to have been as fast as or faster than when paddled by a large complement (Lamont 1867:303). Yet a sailing canoe still took “about two hours” over the same course (ibid.:246), while another took “about an hour and a half” to travel from the islet of

Tepuka to the islet division of Hakasusha [Hakasusa] (ibid.:243), speeds of about 4.0 to 4.2 mph (3.5 to 3.6 knots). Following missionization, several Europeans described their trips between the islets of Omoka and Te Tautua in European or native vessels (Chalmers 1872; Cullen 1899; Lawrence 1897, 1900, 1901). The fastest time, in the ship's boat of the *John Williams* under "a strong fair wind," was about 5.8 mph (5 knots) (Lawrence 1897).

14. Almost certainly there were localized fluctuations in this distribution. During Lamont's stay, for example, the islet of Etuchaha [Atutahi] was particularly populous (1867:278), while Tamata [Temata], Muta Mono and Hakasusha were comparatively underpopulated (ibid.:125, 282, 287). There is no evidence, however, of systematic population variations around the atoll.

15. Lamont's data (1867:287) suggest four alliances existed early in the nineteenth century. However, to arrive at a conservative estimate of the total population, the presence of three alliances only is assumed in the following calculations.

16. Wrecked "some two or three hundred yards" from the southwest coast of Tongareva, the *Chatham* was apparently visited by people drawn from only a part of the alliance centered on the islet of Mangarongaro (Lamont 1867).

17. By way of comparison, the equivalent ratio for the Cook Islands as a whole in 1936, before large-scale modern emigration, was also 0.44. For the atolls of the Northern Cooks, which include Tongareva, the ratio was slightly less than 0.43 (McArthur 1968:203, 209). In 1951, Nukunonu, one of the Tokelau group with very limited emigration at the time, had a ratio of 0.43 (Hooper and Huntsman 1973:385, 391. Birth rates on these atolls had probably increased over precontact levels, but the consequent effects on  $R$  would be counteracted to some degree by the cessation of warfare.

18. There is some confusion in the literature over the identity of Sararak [Sarareka] (Buck 1932:5; S. P. Smith 1889:90). Lamont makes it quite clear, though, that it comprised the islet divisions of Mangarongaro, Tahiti [Tevete], and Hakasusha (Lamont 1867:125; see also Campbell 1985:73, 85). By the time of the descent on Muta Monu, Hakasusha had become a "separate kingdom" (Lamont 1867:277) and therefore may well have been uninvolved in the attack. Nevertheless, to insure an overestimate of  $P$  (and hence a conservative estimate of the total atoll population,  $T$ ), the following calculations assume Hakasusha was part of the force.

19. According to Snow (1967 [1853]:508–509), Tongarevan war canoes were "from fifty to seventy feet in length, and will carry from one to two hundred persons." This claim is not supported by other observers and seems improbable: such a carrying capacity would be rivaled only by the double-hulled vessels of large Polynesian islands like Tahiti (Oliver 1974, 1:401).

20. Calculated from equation 2, assuming  $L = 80$  and  $Y = 15$ . By comparison, the value of  $R$  for the 1936 Cook Islands population was 0.30, for the Northern Cooks slightly less than 0.29 (McArthur 1968:203, 209); and for Nukunonu, in 1951, 0.28 (Hooper and Huntsman 1973:385, 405). These data suggest that a value of 0.33 is likely to overestimate  $R$  (and thus underestimate  $T$ ), though the cautions raised in n. 17 also obtain here.

Lamont's account allows the population of only two settlements to be established with any confidence. Together, they comprised three adult males, four "boys," and four

females, yielding an  $R$  value of approximately 0.27 (Lamont 1867:119–157 passim, 162–166).

21. The Tongarevan diet consisted predominantly of fish and coconut. It might therefore be wondered whether an atoll with an area of just 9.73 square kilometers could support such a population. As Campbell points out, though, the Tongarevan reef (and hence its marine resources) was larger than that of Rarotonga (1985:35), which had a contact population of perhaps 6,000–7,000 (McArthur 1968:164). My own calculations suggest that Tongareva's coconut resources were compatible with a population somewhere in the range 850–3,800.

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## THE *HAU* OF THE GIFT IN ITS CULTURAL CONTEXT

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### Introduction

Ethnocentricity is always a problem for the ethnographer. So also is a superficial or too narrow focus on a particular feature. Dealing with secondary sources adds further to the difficulties of reaching a clear view. These handicaps are all involved in the attempt of Marcel Mauss to use a single element of Maori culture, the notion of *hau* as it is involved in gift exchange, in building a "general theory of obligation" (Mauss 1952:10). He interprets *hau* of the gift as "spirit" of the gift. In this paper I argue that his isolation of *hau* and neglect of other cultural factors involved led him to personify *hau* and credit it with too much importance.

Marcel Mauss's *Essay on the Gift* has been described as "his own gift to the ages" (Sahlins 1974:149), a "valuable analysis" (Firth 1959:418), an "influential essay" (MacCormack 1976:97), and the "relapse of Mauss" (Panoff, in McCall 1982:303). Yet it also provoked these writers to dissect Mauss's interpretation and then attempt to reconstruct the "true" meaning of *hau* themselves. However, these attempts have been largely reworkings of the same limited data.

While dependence on secondary sources is unavoidable in reassessing the meaning of *hau*, the problems of ethnocentricity, narrow focus, and consequent distorted interpretations can be reduced by placing the discussion in a much broader cultural context. This is the basis of my

approach in reassessing the meaning of the *hau* of the gift. For it is only in relation to other notions such as *mauri*, *mana*, *tapu*, and *utu* that the qualities of *hau* and their joint effects on exchange become evident. But although Mauss's conclusions were distorted by his overriding objective and the narrow context of his analysis, it also becomes evident that he was moving in the right direction.

So my approach takes a view wider than simply reexamining Mauss's argument and the Maori texts of Tamati Ranapiri, which were drawn upon by Mauss and his critics. I also attempt to understand *hau* in the wider context of the old Maori worldview, particularly its interrelationship with both the social aspects of property ownership and exchange obligations, as well as the sacred dimensions of *mana* (supernatural power) and *tapu* (sacred sanction, with potential for *mana*). In particular this involves a review of Firth's description of such aspects of Maori life in his *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (1959). Attention is also given to Weiner's sharper examination of the type of gifts for which *hau* is significant (1985), as well as the contributions by Shirres (1982), Salmond (1978), and others to understanding aspects of the Maori worldview. An important consideration involves the Maori understanding of possessions as integral extensions of their owner.

But to reach a clearer understanding of *hau*, a number of confusions need to be tackled as well. For confusions exist in writings on *hau*, particularly regarding its relation to *mauri* (life principle) and the nuances involved in the relation of both *mauri* and *hau* to persons, to the forest, and to valuable possessions (*taonga*). I attempt to shed some light on the fine distinctions involved and the close relationships of *hau* and *mauri* to *mana* and *tapu*. Then, in that context, I examine the close link between *hau* and *utu* (recompense), and their impact in mediating a balance of *tapu* and *mana*.

### The "Spirit of the Gift"

The term "spirit of the gift" derives from the answer that Mauss found to his own two questions: "In primitive or archaic types of society what is the principle whereby a gift received has to be repaid? What force is there in the thing given which compels the recipient to make a return?" (Mauss 1952:1). The second question implies an assumption that the "force of return" is to be found in the "thing given." This assumption lends itself to Mauss's interest in forming a "general theory of obligation" whereas the first question alone leads more to the particular human and cultural elements enforcing a return. It is the argument of

this paper that the “force of return” does not lie in *hau* alone but in the interacting impact of several notions upon social relations.

Mauss’s answer is derived from a Maori text by Tamati Ranapiri,<sup>1</sup> an informant of the ethnographer Elsdon Best. In this text Ranapiri was explaining a basic principle of gift exchange in order to elucidate another text in which he explains the operation of an increase ritual for forest game<sup>2</sup> (cf. MacCormack 1982:289–291). He describes the passing of a gift (*taonga*) among three people. The first person gives it to the second, who later makes a gift of it to a third person. The third person then makes a return gift to the second person, who is then obligated to pass it on to the first person because it is the *hau* of the first gift. Mauss translated the *hau* of the gift as the “spirit” of the gift, and on this translation and his interpretation of it hang the whole debate.

Mauss then went on to interpret this “spirit” as a “spiritual power” that is a part of the personality of the giver and that has an impulse to return to its place of origin. In this way Mauss saw *hau* as the force of the obligation to reciprocate: “The obligation attached to a gift itself is not inert. Even when abandoned by the giver, it still forms a part of him” (Mauss 1952:9). Moreover, he continued, this “spiritual power” that travels with the gift enables the original giver to have a hold over the recipient to insure that the giver is reciprocated. For the *hau* animates the gift and “pursues” the one who holds it no matter how many times it is passed on. “The *hau* wants to return to the place of its birth, to its sanctuary of forest and clan and to its owner” (Mauss 1952:9). So Mauss viewed the *hau* of a gift as an inseparable part of the owner’s personality—“to give something is to give a part of oneself” and the recipient “receives a part of someone’s spiritual essence.” Holding this essence of another person is dangerous, wrote Mauss, and “it retains a magical and religious hold over the recipient” (Mauss 1952:10). Somewhat confusingly, though, he also described the *hau* as “itself a kind of individual” that gives impetus to a continuing “obligatory circulation of wealth, tribute and gifts in Samoa and New Zealand” (Mauss 1952:10).

It is important to note here Weiner’s point that Mauss was aware that a particular kind of gift was involved: *hau* was to be found only in those classified as *taonga* or valuable (Weiner 1985:215). However, Weiner accepts Mauss’s personification of *hau* and explains the sense in which a *taonga* is part of a person: “in the sense that the *taonga* is the material document of its owner’s ancestral past and is itself the carrier of *hau*” (Weiner 1985:223). Mauss, though, described *taonga* as carriers of *mana*, as valuable objects such as “emblems, charms, mats and sacred idols,” and as “closely attached to the individual, the clan and the land;



they are the vehicle of their *mana*—magical, religious and spiritual power” (Mauss 1952:8). The importance of a wider context of related notions is indicated here in the mention of *mana*. But neither Mauss nor Weiner takes up the apparent link between *mana* and *hau*. Weiner, however, takes up Mauss’s description of such items as “*immeuble*” or inalienable. Only certain classes of *taonga* could circulate and then, “the affective qualities constituting the giver’s social and political identity remain embedded in the objects so that when given to others the objects create an emotional lien upon the receivers” (Weiner 1985:212).

### Various Critiques

The edifice that Mauss built on his interpretation of *hau* has been vigorously shaken, notably by Firth. Firth argues that Mauss has ascribed to *hau* “qualities with which it is not really endowed” (Firth 1959:419) and that the text of Ranapiri does not support ascribing a personality to *hau* that unremittingly strives to return to its source. He also argues that *hau* is not the agent of punishment for failure to reciprocate. He gives evidence that this was instigated by witchcraft (Firth 1959:419).

Gathercole maintains that the *hau* of persons is distinct from the *hau* of things (Gathercole 1978:338). Mauss, however, appears to merge them into one and does not make it clear how this *hau* or “spiritual power” of the first gift is transferred to the different gift by which it returns to its source. Sahlins initially reduces *hau* to an economic principle; that is, it represents the “yield” on a gift that should be returned to the original giver (Sahlins 1974:157). *Hau* is thus the original value of the gift plus the “profit” it produces. However, this argument does not agree with the text describing the *hau* of the forest (see n. 2), for only a small portion of the increase of game produced by the ritual is returned to the forest as an offering to the priests. Later Sahlins attempts to modify his secular emphasis by acknowledging that *hau* is a spiritual quality “uniquely associated with fecundity” (Sahlins 1974:167). Yet he is left with a dual interpretation: “the *hau* of the forest is its fecundity, as the *hau* of the gift is its material yield” (Sahlins 1974:168). The former he describes as “spiritual quality” while the latter is the “mundane context of exchange.” While he suggests that his varying interpretations are viewed by the Maori as a “total concept” (Sahlins 1974:168), his analysis does not bring them together in an integrated way. In particular, as Weiner has noted (Weiner 1985:221), Sahlins neglects the significance of the qualities of *taonga* and their association with *hau* and *mana*.

Also unsatisfactory is McCall’s attempt to demystify *hau* by declaring

it a "popular metaphor" and then giving it a highly abstract meaning: "integrity, in the sense of wholeness, association, even boundedness. By association I mean more than mere sociation, but demonstrated, visible, and seemingly mutual commitment" (McCall 1982:303–304). While the sense of wholeness is important, it needs to be spelled out more concretely in relation to other worldview notions rather than being presented as an alien abstraction that swallows up the concreteness of *hau*, obscures its variety, and negates its religious associations. Salmond more effectively presents the sense of wholeness by placing *hau* in the context of her discussion of the balancing of opposites in ritual transactions (Salmond 1978:116).

### Maori Worldview

Much of the unsatisfactory nature of the debate stems from Westerners' ethnocentric separation of spiritual and secular realms. However, the Maori culture in question was part of the presecularized world in which sacred and secular dimensions were not separated. Rather, the secular was imbued with the sacred and vice versa. To understand *hau* as the Maori did, it is essential to place it in the context of this worldview.

This integration of sacred and secular can be seen in the links between the practices of ownership and exchange on the one hand and the notions of *tapu* (sanction or potential for sacred power) and *mana* (prestige or sacred power) on the other. With an understanding of these links the notion of *hau* can be understood better. Hence I will now review the apparently secular practices of ownership and exchange, and then examine the impact of *mana* and *tapu* upon them.

#### *Individual Ownership of Property*

Firth makes it clear that "a system of very definite individual rights obtained" over movable property (Firth 1959:340–343). He draws on the evidence of Colenso, who stressed the individualistic aspect of Maori ownership. The type of goods held as personal property included utilitarian items for digging, fishing, hunting, cooking, and weaving, as well as clothing, body ornaments, and a few prized articles. Game and fish caught on solitary expeditions were considered the property of the hunter, although they were incorporated into the family food supply.

Such personal property was acquired either by collecting or manufacturing, or by exchange or inheritance. Individual ownership rights were respected by others and unauthorized removal could be severely pun-

ished. Borrowing was freely practiced, but under definite guidelines including an obligation to recompense the owner for the loan (Firth 1959:343–344). However, Firth indicates that individual ownership was qualified by the superior right of the community to use such goods for a wider need (Firth 1959:356).

### *Communal Ownership of Property*

Some material items met group needs and were owned communally. The most important was the house (*whare*), which was generally owned and occupied by members of an extended family (*whanau*) (Firth 1959:349–350). The basis of communal ownership appears to have been the size of the appropriate user group together with kinship associations. Thus a small eel weir could belong to a single *whanau* while a large eel weir or a meeting house, which required the labor of the whole village for its construction, was regarded as the property of the village group (*hapu*) (Firth 1959:350–353).

*Taonga*, which Firth describes as valued heirlooms, were held by members of chiefly families and were inherited by sons or the nearest male relatives. However, those items with wider significance were also regarded as tribal property held in trust by the chief. Firth notes that these could be freely circulated among families of rank but tended to be returned eventually to the family of the original owners (Firth 1959:353–356). Weiner observes that Firth does not fully appreciate the value of *taonga* and merely distinguishes them by associations of sentiment (Weiner 1985:220–221). Instead they are carriers of family history, which “are considered to be filled with much *mana* and are therefore treated with extreme care” (Irwin 1984:20).

### *Maori Exchange*

Exchange operated within the principle of recompense or reprisal called *utu* that applied to repayment of both good and evil. Exchange operated in concord with the individual ownership of property, even when differences of rank were involved. Drawing on Colenso, Firth gives the example of a man of middle or lower rank who had caught fish or snared birds. While these were his own property, he dare not refuse a request for them by his superior chief. However, this was not simply appropriation by might but occurred within the system of exchange: “since by custom such a gift was sure to be repaid with interest it was readily yielded” (Firth 1959:340). An interplay of the obligation to



repay with the necessity to maintain prestige by a generous return could also be expected (Firth 1959:298).

Firth distinguishes two broad classifications of the types of exchange: economic exchange with a focus on the practical utility of goods and ceremonial exchange involving a wider social purpose. Within communities exchange was limited mainly to exchanges with craft specialists and for services of magic or curing illness. Extracommunal exchanges were more frequent and appeared to fit mainly into Sahlins's category of balanced exchange, although seasonal factors caused some delays in repayment. The interests here were to obtain different economic resources, particularly between the coast and inland, and to acquire the prized greenstone (Firth 1959:402–409).

Several principles of exchange can be drawn from Firth's description. First, "every exchange was made after the manner of *gift and counter-gift*" (Firth 1959:409). He stresses that barter or set values were not involved but a hint was frequently given of what was desired in return if expectations were not clear. Then the principle of *utu* (recompense) applied: for "*every gift another of at least equal value should be returned*" (Firth 1959:412–413; his emphases). These principles are relevant to Ranapiri's text where he stressed "you give it to me without price. We do not bargain over it" (Mauss 1952:9). Biggs translated this as: "We have no agreement about payment" (see n. 1). On this point Gathercole draws attention to the often unclear boundaries between Maori and European conceptual ideas and the need to clarify Maori concepts in distinction from European ones (Gathercole 1978:337). From the Maori point of view Ranapiri was stressing that Maori exchange was different from the European market system, but it should not be taken that he was denying the *expectation* of a return gift. In fact Ranapiri used the word *utu* for the repayment decided upon by the second recipient. The introduction of a second recipient serves to emphasize that the first recipient has not lost the obligation to reciprocate, and that it is dangerous for *hau* to remain deflected from the original giver. Ranapiri said, "I will become *mate*" (sick).

Firth describes another important aspect of Maori exchange in relation to a delay in reciprocity. In this case "the second gift was often made larger than the first" (Firth 1959:422). He relates this feature to the tendency not to skimp on the return but to be generous, even lavish, in an attempt to fulfill the obligation. Such liberality contributes to prestige and standing in the community, and so *utu* has a positive impetus to it. Firth's description indicates that there was social value in a "return with interest," although he also points out that there was a



strong undercurrent of self-interest that prompted an insistence on reciprocity (Firth 1959:423). These generous economic aspects of social prestige are distinct from, but undergird and reaffirm, the sacred dimension of prestige that is derived from the notion of *mana*. The possession of *mana* or “psychic power” also establishes social prestige (Firth 1959:255).

This somewhat pragmatic approach to ownership and exchange now needs to be viewed in the context of the overarching aspects of the Maori worldview. Key notions in this worldview are *tapu* and *mana*, and the practice of *tapatapa* is also relevant.

### *The Notions of Tapu and Mana*

Firth approaches the notion of *tapu* in terms of Maori behavior toward *tapu* objects, that is: “Any person or thing which was regarded as *tapu* was only to be approached or handled with caution, and under certain rigidly delimited conditions. Otherwise harm was believed to occur. For the ordinary villager things *tapu* were to be avoided” (Firth 1959:246). But Firth does not address the way an object becomes *tapu* other than to say, “since the *tapu* is thought to receive its virtue and power from the gods, it has come to be accepted in many cases as a synonym for ‘sacred’ ” (Firth 1959:246).

This “protective sacredness” of *tapu* is better understood when its close link with *mana* is recognized. Michael Shirres elaborates on this link in a study of three Maori documents and defines *tapu* as “being with potentiality for power” (Shirres 1982:46), that is, the power of *mana*. An object or person is possibly dangerous or *tapu* because of the possession of *mana* in itself or by extension; for example, the personal *tapu* of chiefs could be extended to their personal property (Shirres 1982:37–38). This is shown by the practice of *tapatapa*, which is discussed below.

Irwin defines *mana* as “a supernatural force said to be in a person, place, object or spirit. It is commonly understood as prestige, status or authority—although the status is derived from possessing *mana*” (Irwin 1984:23). *Mana* is beneficial to the rightful possessor, but is dangerous to others without the control or protective shielding of *tapu*. Hence *mana* and *tapu* are integrally linked. A breach of *tapu* renders a person liable to sickness or death from uncontrolled *mana* unless a ritual of purification can be performed to render the person *noa* (ordinary, free from *tapu*). The severity of the “infection” is related to the strength of *mana* in a person or object. Also, *mana* could be imparted from a person to “inanimate objects such as ornaments and hand weapons, espe-

cially when made of greenstone or whalebone" (Irwin 1984:22), or to a *kumara* (sweet potato) as talisman of a crop, or to an object such as a boundary marker.

So, with the notion of *tapu* "goes the notion of awe and sacredness, which commands both respect and fear and which calls for a separation, a keeping apart, from this being with all its dynamic potential for power" (Shirres 1982:46). Furthermore Shirres identifies six occurrences of intrinsic *tapu*, derived from the six children of Rangi and Papa, the heavens and the earth. "These *atua*, 'spiritual powers', are identified with each of the basic Maori categories of beings and all things begin from them" (Shirres 1982:38). The six are Tangaroa (the fish), Rongo-maa-Taane (the *kumara*), Haumia-tiketike (the edible fernroot), Taane-matauenga (the trees and birds), Taawhiri-maa-tea (the wind), and Tuu-matauenga (man). Shirres states: "Each section of creation has its own spiritual power which is its ancestor, *tupuna*, and its source of *tapu* and *mana*" (Shirres 1982:48). Consequently, any breach of *tapu* is a disregard for this spiritual power (or "god") and the transgressor is presumably opened to the destructiveness of its exposed *mana* or spiritual power. Human *mana* and *tapu* are gained by inheritance (Shirres 1982:39) and the closer the link to the ancestors, the higher is the rank and the power of personal *mana* and *tapu*. Hence the chief and his belongings were highly sacrosanct. Things and events are not *tapu* in themselves, says Shirres, but are *tapu* according to their association with or extension from one of the intrinsic *tapu*. Clashes of *tapu* with *tapu*, and of *mana* with *mana*, are of central concern to Maori public ritual (Shirres 1982:41-43).

It follows that *tapu* and *mana* were pervading factors in social life. Firth describes the great influence of *tapu* in economic life: "The *tapu* was most concerned with natural resources, the highly valued cultural objects, and man himself" (Firth 1959:247). *Tapu* lay upon the forest, its trees, products and wildlife, material culture accessories in proportion to their "social value" (e.g., large canoes and nets), and upon individuals. Firth quotes Best's observation: "*Tapu* and *makutu* (witchcraft) are practically the laws of Maoridom. Property, crops, fish, birds, etc. were protected by them" (Firth 1959:249). These descriptions of *tapu* and *mana* indicate their constraining impact on economic and social life in both positive and negative ways. The productiveness of the environment was related to the observance of *tapu* sanctions, and both protective and productive rituals were practiced to ensure fertility and harmony in the environment. Hence economic and social activities had both pragmatic and religious dimensions that cannot be separated.

Now it might be assumed from this discussion that the relation of

objects to people was simply a matter of pragmatic individual ownership, and that the notions such as *tapu*, *mana*, and *hau* formed a "sacred umbrella" to ensure harmonious relations between people. However, a practice called *tapatapa* suggests that individual ownership of things had its own sacred dimension.

### *The Implications of Tapatapa*

Firth describes the essence of the custom of *tapatapa* as a means that a chief could use to bring "a desired article into association with himself" (Firth 1959:345) and isolate it for his own use. To do this, a chief could "call the desired object by his own name, or refer to it as being a part of his body, when, if the property of any persons of his own or a friendly tribe, it would be at once handed over to him" (Firth 1959:345). Firth gives an example of a chief desiring a canoe who called out: "That canoe which separates off in front of the others is my backbone." He had named the canoe after the most *tapu* part of his body and none would dare retain it, for the canoe was now infected with his *tapu*. The chief, of course, was bound by obligation to reciprocate with an adequate return.

While this practice could only be employed by a chief with sufficient *mana* and *tapu* to support his actions, it does suggest a general view among the Maoris that personal possessions were in some sense an extension of the owner and were protected by his personal *tapu*. This is supported by Shirres's description of the extension of *tapu* to other objects and events (Shirres 1982:36–42), as noted above.

Before relating *hau* to *tapu* and *mana*, it is necessary first to discuss *hau*'s distinction from the closely related notion of *mauri*.

### *The Notions of Mauri and Hau*

Unfortunately the literature on the fine distinctions between *mauri* and *hau* is sparse, conflicting, and inconclusive. Williams glosses *mauri* as: "1. life principle, thymos of man . . . 2. source of the emotions . . . 3. talisman, a material symbol of the hidden principle protecting vitality, mana, fruitfulness, etc." (Williams 1971:197). Salmond, following Williams, lists a range of meanings for *hau*: "vitality of man, land"; "return present for one received"; "strike, smite"; "food offered to *atua* in propitiatory rites" (Salmond 1978:17). But much of the confusion lies in distinguishing the *mauri* and *hau* of persons and the forest, and the *hau* of *taonga* (valuable possessions). I suggest the following working glosses:



<i>mauri</i> of a person:	life principle, i.e., as a living organism
<i>hau</i> of a person:	living breath, vitality, capacity for activity, personality (cf. Gathercole 1978:338)
<i>mauri</i> of the forest:	1. life principle, i.e., as a productive environment; 2. material symbol of <i>mauri</i> (stone, tree, feather, etc.) (Irwin 1984:62–63)
<i>hau</i> of the forest:	fecundity, vitality evidenced by productivity (Best, in Gathercole 1978:335)
<i>hau</i> of <i>taonga</i> :	Salmond glosses this simply as “return present for one received” (Salmond 1978:17). An underlying gloss could be: its vitality as a vehicle of <i>mana</i> .

It is evident from the text translated by Best on the *hau* of the forest (see n. 2) that *mauri* and *hau* are closely linked: “It is the *mauri* that causes birds to be abundant in the forest, that they may be slain and taken by man. . . . offerings should be made to the *hau* of the forest.” Best came to the conclusion that the *hau* and the *mauri* of the forest were the same (quoted in Gathercole 1978:338), but the text appears to uphold the working glosses above. The birds taken are “an equivalent for that important item, the *mauri*” (the material talisman representing the productive environment), but the offering is to the “*hau* of the forest products” (a recompense for productivity), so that both *hau* and *mauri* “may return to the forest—that is, to the *mauri*,” i.e., the talisman represents both of them.

Irwin also describes the forest *mauri* as “the *mauri* of Tane” (Irwin 1984:62), the god of the forest. A cover of *tapu* restrictions applied to the forest and any abuse of *mauri* would no doubt also breach *tapu* and expose the *mana* of Tane (cf. Firth 1959:225). So, as Irwin suggests, the *mauri* could also be said to represent the *mana* of the forest (Irwin 1984:63). Fertility and productivity of the forest depended on the maintenance of *mauri*, and hence *hau*, intact and unharmed (Firth 1959:255).

Best distinguishes between the *mauri* and *hau* of persons, but also says that in some ways “the *mauri* of a person resembles the *hau*, which latter is the very essence of vitality. If a person’s *hau* be taken and brought under the influence of black magic, then death comes swift and certain” (Best, in Gathercole 1978:335). He also indicates that a material part of a person can represent the *hau*—for example, clothing, hair, or spittle. In such a manner the heart or other part of the first enemy



slain in battle “was taken as representing the *hau* of the enemy—that is, his vital power—and was offered to the gods” (Best 1924:241). Again it is clear that the well-being of the person is considered dependent upon the maintenance and integrity of the person’s *hau*. As with the *hau* of the forest, it can also be assumed that a person’s *mana* is closely linked to *mauri* and *hau*. Any loss of the latter would infringe on the *tapu* protecting a person’s *mana*.

Now to consider the *hau* of a valuable gift (*taonga*), this also can be seen to be closely linked to the *mana* of the giver when the valued possession is seen to be an extension of the person, containing *mana* of the giver and infected with his *tapu*. The *hau* of the gift, then, can be understood as the gift’s vitality as a bearer of the *mana* of its owner. It follows then that the giving of *taonga*, with its *hau* or vitality deriving from the giver’s *mana*, requires a compensatory return or replacement to balance the giver’s *mana*. The *hau* of the original gift may be returned by the same gift or by a replacement gift. Here Ranapiri’s statement makes sense, “that valuable which was given to me [as repayment], that is the *hau* of the valuable which was given to me before.”

This process now points to a clear link between *hau* and *utu*, the principle of compensation.

### Hau and Utu

As already discussed, *utu*, in relation to exchange, required a return gift of at least equal value and preferably of greater value than the original gift. Likewise, the output of *hau* (bearing *mana*) required that compensatory return be made to maintain balance or harmony. In other words, both the notions of *hau* and *utu* provided impetus for a gift to be returned or replaced by an equivalent.

In her “Semantic Approach to the Traditional Maori Cosmos,” Salmond includes both *utu* and *hau* in an interesting treatment of the threshold or liminal zone mediating between the main oppositions she draws—particularly between *ora* (life) and *mate* (death), and between *tapu* and *noa* (free of *tapu*) (Salmond 1978:15–17). (Following Shirres’s comments, *utu* and *hau* can also be taken as mediating between opposing *tapus* or extensions of *tapu* [Shirres 1982:49].) “In the threshold zone,” says Salmond, “the preoccupation is with balance” (Salmond 1978:16). Imbalance or “attack” may be caused by violence, magic, or gift. Then the “knack of coming out on the right side of such transactions . . . is expressed as *mana*” (Salmond 1978:17).

Gathercole also makes a useful correlation of *utu* and *hau*, seeing *utu*

as providing a positive impetus and *hau* a negative one. "*Utu* was a positive principle which galvanised relationships of reciprocation, even that of revenge. *Hau* helped to shape the character of *utu* because it was, in this context, the reverse of positive. It was here a negative phenomenon, possibly dangerous because it might precipitate the action of witchcraft" (Gathercole 1978:339).

This point clearly supports the picture that *hau* alone was not the prime factor in Maori exchange, but was one of several interrelated aspects of the Maori worldview that impinged upon the social practices of exchange. *Utu* can be understood to have positive impact in the maintenance of the *mana* of participants in economic exchanges, while *hau* has negative impact in the avoidance of misfortune that would arise from breach of the *tapu* associated with *taonga* in ceremonial exchanges.

### Hau, Tapu and Mana

So if *hau*, like *mauri*, is seen in conjunction with *tapu* and *mana*, then Mauss's description of the impulse of *hau* as the "spirit of the gift" to return to its source can be understood without having to overpersonify it. *Hau*, as the vitality of the forest or of a gift and as the bearer or safeguard of *mana* that must be kept in balance, requires some compensation for the productivity that issues from it. Hence a sample offering of birds was made as a return of *hau* to the forest, and a gift or its equivalent had to be returned to the giver. Failure to make such compensation was an infringement of *tapu* and retribution would follow, for example, by physical violence, witchcraft, or by unnatural accident or illness. While the *hau* of a gift and the *hau* of the giver are closely associated, Mauss made the error of merging the two, not discerning that the real link between the two was the *mana* of the giver. Nevertheless he had the right idea in his understanding that an outflow of *hau* had to be compensated for by a return. In his discussion of the northwest American Indian potlatch, Mauss expounds this pattern of return in terms of three obligations—to give, to receive, and to repay (Mauss 1952:37–41). But this pattern is embodied in the Maori understanding of *utu* as much as in *hau*.

### The Gift as Extension of the Owner

So we have come full circle to Mauss, who clearly had such notions in mind—"to give something is to give a part of oneself." However, he

overstated his case by personifying the *hau* of the gift and merging it with the *hau* of the giver. But his intention is clearer and can be accepted when the valuable gift is understood as an *extension* of the owner after the manner of *tapatapa*. Then it follows that the *hau* of a valuable possession is integrally linked to the *hau* and *mana* of the owner and that any gift of a valued object to another person requires a compensating gift—that is, return of *hau*—to maintain the “being” or prestige (*mana*) of the person concerned and to avoid offending his *tapu*. The gift has its own *hau* (vitality) that is derived from the *mana* of the giver with which the gift is imbued. Hence *mana*, rather than *hau*, can be described as the “spiritual power” that travels with the gift.

Weiner expresses this in saying: “The *hau* attached to objects embodies the relation of the person to the sacred world of spiritual force . . . it must be replaced continually in people and things. . . . As the agent of replacement, the *hau* is a force against loss, securing a group’s individual strengths and identities against the demands of others” (Weiner 1985:223–224). Rather than calling *hau* the “agent of replacement,” calling it the “principle of replacement” would more clearly indicate the human response involved and would parallel *hau* with *utu*. Again it is important to remember Weiner’s point that the gifts involved were not all gifts but only *taonga*, valuables that represent an individual’s group status and identity. “By bringing one’s ancestral and mythical histories into the present the *taonga* endows present actions with greater force” (Weiner 1985:224).

A problem that arises is how to maintain such status and identity while meeting the obligation to give. The dilemma is reduced by the process of return or replacement that “allows a person to retain some part of inalienable possessions or some degree of inalienability” (Weiner 1985:224).

### Conclusion

I have delved into the worldview of the old Maori culture in order to find an understanding of *hau* in relation to other significant notions. With this wider perspective, it is clear that *hau* did not provide the sole impetus for exchange as Mauss suggests, but needs to be seen in balance with the impetus provided in particular by the notions of *utu*, *tapu*, and *mana*. The “force of return” is not embodied in the gift itself in a personified *hau*, but in the complex of social relations and in the constraints of the sacred dimensions upon these relations.

Despite the frequent criticism that Mauss read too much into *hau*,



this wider perspective indicates that he did have the right feel for the sacred dimensions of the relation of valuable possessions to people (cf. MacCormack 1982:288) and for the necessity for compensation that is wider than a simple obligation (cf. Levi-Strauss, in MacCormack 1982:288). However, his attempt to construct a general theory of obligation on the basis of *hau* is clearly discredited. *Hau* remains as a distinctive feature of the old Maori worldview, but with less centrality and significance than that assigned to the notion by Mauss.

This discussion has also revealed the dangers of bias from ethnocentric preconceptions (Mauss's desire for a universal theory), and from too superficial a view when the understandings of data gained from the observer's perspective are not adequately balanced by the deeper level of perception gained from the participants' worldview. In this case, the wider cultural context has both revealed Mauss's misplaced overemphasis on *hau* and also deepened our understanding of it.

## NOTES

This is an expanded version of a paper that was honored with the 1984 Best Paper Award (Undergraduate) of The Institute for Polynesian Studies. The author expresses appreciation to the anonymous assessors for their comments and suggestions, which led to substantial revision of the original paper.

The two key texts of Tamati Ranapiri as presented by Marshall Sahlins in *Stone Age Economics* (London, 1974), 152, 158, are reproduced below with the permission of Tavistock Publications.

1. The *hau* of the gift—an interlinear translation by Biggs.

*Na, mo te hau o te ngaaherehere. Taua mea te hau, ehara i te mea*  
Now, concerning the *hau* of the forest. This *hau* is not the *hau*

*ko te hau e pupuhi nei. Kaaore. Maaku e aata whaka maarama ki a koe.*  
that blows (the wind). No. I will explain it carefully to you.

*Na, he taonga toou ka hoomai e koe mooku. Kaaore aa taaua whakaritenga*  
Now, you have something valuable which you give to me. We have no  
*uto mo too taonga. Na, ka hoatu hoki e ahau mo teetehi atu tangata, aa,*  
agreement about payment. Now, I give it to someone else, and,

*ka roa peaa te waa, aa, ka mahara taua tangata kei a ia raa taug taonga*  
a long time passes, and that man thinks he has the valuable,

*kia hoomai he utu ki a au, aa, ka hoomai e ia. Na, ko taua taonga*  
he should give some repayment to me, and so he does so. Now, that

*i hoomai nei ki a au, ko te hau teenaa o te taonga i hoomai ra ki a au*  
valuable which was given to me, that is the *hau* of the valuable which was



*i mua. Ko taua taonga me hoatu e ahau ki a koe. E kore*  
 given to me before. I must give it to you. It would not  
*rawa e tika kia kaiponutia e ahau mooku; ahakoa taonga pai rawa, taonga*  
 be correct for me to keep it for myself, whether it be something very good,  
*kino raanei, me tae rawa taua taonga i a au ki a koe. No te mea he hau*  
 or bad, that valuable must be given to you from me. Because that valuable  
*no te taonga teenaa taonga na. Ki te mea kai kaiponutia e ahau taua taonga*  
 is a *hau* of the other valuable. If I should hang onto that valuable  
*mooku, ka mate ahau. Koina te hau, hau taonga*  
 for myself, I will become *mate*. So that is the *hau*—*hau* of valuables,  
*hau ngaaherehere. Kaata eenaa.*  
*hau* of the forest. So much for that.

2. The *hau* of the forest—the translation by Best.

I will explain something to you about the forest *hau*. The *mauri* was placed or implanted in the forest by the *tohunga* [priests]. It is the *mauri* that causes birds to be abundant in the forest, that they may be slain and taken by man. These birds are the property of, or belong to, the *mauri*, the *tohunga*, and the forest: that is to say, they are an equivalent for that important item, the *mauri*. Hence it is said that offerings should be made to the *hau* of the forest. The *tohunga* (priests, adepts) eat the offering because the *mauri* is theirs: it was they who located it in the forest, who caused it to be. That is why some of the birds cooked at the sacred fire are set apart to be eaten by the priests only, in order that the *hau* of the forest-products, and the *mauri*, may return again to the forest—that is, to the *mauri*. Enough of these matters (Best, 1909, p. 439).

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CONTRACT LABOR UNDER A PROTECTOR:  
THE GILBERTESE LABORERS AND HIRAM BINGHAM, JR.,  
IN HAWAII, 1878-1903

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The tale of Gilbertese contract laborers is an essential part of Gilbertese postcontact history. Overseas laborers returned to their islands with fresh ideas.<sup>1</sup> They also brought back goods never before seen and weapons to intensify intra- and inter-island wars. At least ninety-three hundred Gilbertese were recruited for labor in far-flung places including Tahiti, Samoa, Hawaii, Fiji, and even Queensland, Australia.<sup>2</sup> On the whole it was a disheartening yet broadening experience for the Gilbertese.

In Hawaii, however, the Gilbertese had the advantage of a protector, the former pioneer Protestant missionary to the Gilberts, the Reverend Hiram Bingham, Jr. Along with him, to minister to the needs of the Gilbertese, were five Hawaiian missionaries who had served in the Gilberts but who were now resident in their homeland. Yet even in Hawaii where the Gilbertese had this support, their experience with contract labor was neither a pleasant nor a profitable one. In fact, the presence of Bingham may have deflected activities of the Gilbertese to improve their situation.

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Between 1878 and 1887 nearly two thousand Gilbertese came to work on Hawaiian plantations.<sup>3</sup> Some of them had already been introduced

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to Hawaiians, men who came to the Gilberts as assistant missionaries in the American Congregational Mission beginning in 1857. The Hawaiian missionaries probably told tales of the beauty of Hawaii. Yet the Gilbertese were to encounter many problems in Hawaii. It was almost totally dissimilar from the Gilberts in language, climate, diet, and customs.

The Gilbertese began arriving in Hawaii as early as 1872, but the first to come were not brought by the government.<sup>4</sup> On 19 May 1878 the *Storm Bird* brought to Hawaii the first twenty-five Gilbertese who were directly sponsored by the Hawaiian government.<sup>5</sup> Such Gilbertese labor continued to come till 1887; the last of the Gilbertese did not leave Hawaii till 1903. The Hawaiian government brought out "South Seas Immigrants" because it faced two major problems. The first was lack of labor for Hawaii's development; the second was the decline in the Hawaiian population. Kalakaua, who had been elected king in 1874, believed that if "similar" people could be brought to Hawaiian shores, both problems would be solved simultaneously.<sup>6</sup> It was hoped that other Polynesian and Micronesian people would intermarry with the Hawaiians.

Kalakaua found a kindred spirit in an English-born American adventurer who came to Hawaii in 1861 as a Mormon missionary, Walter Murray Gibson. Gibson was a man who entertained lofty but often impracticable ambitions. He had been American consul general for Central America. He had traveled also to Malaya, Borneo, and Sumatra, where he had been accused of fomenting rebellion against the Dutch. In Hawaii, he again tried to implement his romantic ideals, this time the sovereignty of Island States, by entering the political arena. He envisaged Hawaii as taking a leading role in the process. Like Kalakaua, he distrusted the rise of American influence in Hawaii and shared the king's concern over the decline in the Hawaiian population. Gibson was determined to reverse the tide. By 1882, as premier and minister of foreign affairs, he was one of the leading white politicians in Hawaii. Other politicians viewed askance Gibson's enunciations that Hawaiians should run their own affairs.<sup>7</sup>

To Kalakaua, the most immediate problem was arresting the decline in the Hawaiian population. Equally important was the pressing need for a labor force for the expanding sugar plantations of Hawaii. Most of the 2,403 South Seas immigrants who came to Hawaii between 1878 and 1887 were Gilbertese.<sup>8</sup> They did not intermarry with the Hawaiians, nor were they valued as laborers by all plantation owners. Some plantation owners, however, favored them because of their low pay. A

high proportion of the Gilbertese emigrated as family units that included the very young and the very old. There were, however, a number of single men and an even larger number of single women. Some of these would have been very young, thirteen to fifteen years old, and others would have been old. Many of the women would have fallen within the category of the *nikiranroro*, which literally means the remnants of society. This was made up of unmarried nonvirgins, divorcees, and widows. Not all women in these circumstances would become *nikiranroro* automatically. Widows and divorcees could remarry; nonvirgins could be forgiven by their families. It is probable that some women deliberately chose to become *nikiranroro* so as to indulge in an independence that was impossible within the confines of the Gilbertese family structure. Their independent existence was threatened, however, by the strict sexual codes of the Samoan pastors in the five southern islands of the Gilberts group.<sup>9</sup>

The Gilbertese, like other South Seas immigrants, were contracted to work in the Hawaiian Islands for three years. They worked mostly on the sugar plantations, but also on rice and coffee plantations. Oahu, Kauai, and Maui were the major destinations, but some Gilbertese also went to Hawaii and Molokai. The hours of work were sixty a week—ten hours a day, six days a week. This was largely true for all laborers. Men were paid five dollars a month for the first year, with an annual increment of one dollar per month; women were paid one dollar per month less. These wages were lower than those paid to the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Portuguese. In 1874 the Chinese were paid eight dollars per month; in 1877 the Portuguese were paid ten dollars per month, while the Japanese received nine dollars per month.<sup>10</sup> Old people were either not required to work or simply to work sufficient hours to earn their board. The young, including those up to fifteen years old, were to attend public schools. Adequate daily rations were to be provided by the plantation owners, who were also to provide medical care, all necessary and suitable bedding, and to pay any taxes levied by the government on contract laborers. The government guaranteed a free passage home for those laborers wishing to leave Hawaii at the expiration of their contract. If the laborers wished to stay in Hawaii, they could either enter into a new contract or “re-ship,” which referred to itinerant work, usually at two or three dollars a week.<sup>11</sup>

The Gilbertese were unused to constant labor and while away they pined for their homeland. Why, then, were they so eager to leave for Hawaii in the first place? The Gilbertese migrants mostly came from the five southern islands (Beru, Nikunau, Onotoa, Tamana, and Aro-

rae) that were intermittently threatened by drought. Some may have been escaping the strict codes of the Samoan pastors. Both Christians and non-Christians were recruited. Others came from Abaiang, Tarawa, Maiana, and even Butaritari and Makin, which were well within the rain belt. Abaiang, Tarawa, and Maiana were war-torn islands, and there were those who wanted to flee from continual warfare. In 1879 when Isaac Kaiea of Abaiang launched an attack on neighboring Tarawa, the *Storm Bird* succeeded in recruiting fifty-three islanders from Tarawa and thirty from Abaiang.<sup>12</sup> Then there were those who hoped to procure firearms to bring back to their home island to continue the wars and seek revenge. Still others had no understanding of the rules of contract labor and thought they were simply being offered a free voyage. When Maka, one of the five Hawaiian missionaries who had been to the Gilberts, asked some Gilbertese in 1880 why they had come to Hawaii, they replied: "The Captain, through the interpreter, said to us, 'We shall be taken to visit Oahu because of the desire of the King of Hawaii, for the resemblance of the skin of Hawaiians to them.' So the chiefs of Hawaii wanted us to come here and when we came, then we would receive some presents."<sup>13</sup>

Some of the islanders who left the Gilberts for whatever reason, however, never reached Honolulu. The ships that brought the Gilbertese to Hawaii—the *Storm Bird*, *Pomare*, *Julia*, *Hazard*, and *Hawaii*—took the islanders first to a waiting station at Jaluit, in the Marshall Islands. Here many Gilbertese became sick and some died. It was not surprising, then, that when the ships finally docked in Honolulu, both Bingham and his wife Clarissa had much work to do in attending to the sick. Bingham directly referred to the trip of the *Hawaii* in 1880 and claimed that "quite a number" of the 180 Gilbertese aboard were taken immediately to the hospital. He decided to hold his Sabbath afternoon service at the quarantine station rather than the home church on 17 October 1880.<sup>14</sup>

When Bingham had been resident at Abaiang, the missionary base for the Gilberts, between 1857 and 1863 and again from 1873 to 1875, a triangular relationship between himself, the Hawaiian missionaries, and the Gilbertese had developed. The mission, however, had not been a success. Bingham's missionary strategy of relying on "chiefs" had not worked on Abaiang, where the *uea*'s power did not go unchallenged. Few were converted on Abaiang or, for that matter, on any of the other islands in the group on which mission depots were established. Bingham faced and flinched from the overwhelming apathy of the Gilbertese toward his message. Fearing failure, he turned increasingly to translat-



ing the Bible into Gilbertese as a work that would bring him fame and recognition. Bingham returned to his birthplace, Honolulu, in 1875 because of failing health. He was never to return to his missionary post, the Gilberts. Yet the opportunity to renew the former triangle presented itself in Hawaii. Bingham discovered that, even though he had left the Gilberts, he now had Gilbertese on his doorstep and a symbiotic relationship developed. The Gilbertese needed a spokesman, while Bingham enjoyed having people look to him for guidance and support. As a result of this, Bingham underwent somewhat of a transformation and was prepared to put aside his translation work for a few years.

In Hawaii, the Gilbertese were placed into a system that had been developing since its inception in 1852. By 1878, there were three thousand contract laborers; by 1883, seventy-one thousand. Most of the contract laborers at this stage were Chinese, Portuguese, or Japanese. Two shiploads of Norwegians also came. Later, Koreans and Filipinos would arrive.

The plantation system was a strict one; the aim was maximum production at minimum cost. Laborers were divided into gangs and placed under overseers, "*luna*." Long hours were extracted in return for monthly pay and daily rations. No wages were paid to workers for periods of sickness. Medical attention was free, but plantation doctors were present not only to tend to the sick, but also to ferret out malingers. Fines were imposed for any sign of insubordination, neglect of duty, drunkenness, gambling, or tardiness. If ten to fifteen minutes late, a worker could lose a quarter day's pay. Contract laborers generally lived in crowded and unsanitary conditions. Physical violence on the part of the *luna* was often threatened, if not carried out.

Even for the Gilbertese who were aware of the reason for their being brought to Hawaii, that of contract labor, a shock awaited them. The Gilbertese were not accustomed to regimentation. They placed high value on leisure, freedom, and autonomy.<sup>15</sup>

The Gilbertese were fortunate, however, in being placed under a protector, Hiram Bingham, Jr. Furthermore, they had five sympathetic Hawaiian missionaries—Mahoe, Maka, Lutera, Kanoho, and Lono—to minister to their physical as well as their spiritual needs. Most of these Hawaiians had once served in the Gilberts and so were familiar with the Gilbertese and their language. Just the sound of a Hawaiian speaking their language would have been comforting to the Gilbertese. For more than ten years, Mahoe would care for the Gilbertese on Kauai. One of the plantation owners there, a Mr. E. P. Adams, built a church and furnished a home for Mahoe so he could more easily care for the Gilbert-



tese on Adams's plantation at Kilauea.<sup>16</sup> Maka was stationed at Honolulu, but made regular excursions to both Maui and Kauai. Lono was pastor of Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu, but visited Kauai in 1884 to assist Mahoe with the Gilbertese there. Kanoho was based on Maui between 1880 and 1883. Lutera also aided Mahoe on Kauai before he went to the Gilberts. On his return from the Gilberts to Honolulu in 1891, he took care of the Gilbertese at Lahaina on Maui till 1903. The Hawaiian ministers were supported partly by the Gilbertese and partly by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA). In 1890, however, Mahoe was requested by the HEA to devote himself exclusively to the care of the Gilbertese at a salary of three hundred dollars per annum.<sup>17</sup> But it was Bingham who was to hold the official position of "Inspector and Protector of the South Sea Islanders."

## II

In late 1880, Bingham was approached by the president of the Board of Immigration, His Excellency H. A. P. Carter, and asked if he would accept the position of "Inspector and Protector of the South Sea Islanders." At this point, Bingham expressed his "thoughts very freely . . . not hesitating to let them know that in view of the great mortality among the immigrants" he could not "encourage the Gilbert Islanders to come."<sup>18</sup> He was prepared, however, to put the matter before the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Missions, which would make the final decision.

Bingham had been a critic of the labor scheme to bring Gilbertese to Hawaii from its inception and had done what he could to prevent it. Being diplomatic and discreet, however, he had done so unobtrusively. He summed up his attitude in a letter to the Reverend N. G. Clark of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, dated 1 November 1880:

I shall give very careful attention, as we missionary people ought to be prepared to advise the Gilbert Islanders as to the expediency of their leaving their homes to come to these shores. For us as missionaries to oppose the efforts of the Government to introduce here the greatly needed labourers, except as we could show good reasons, would give great dissatisfaction, and it becomes us to be "wise as serpents."<sup>19</sup>

It was not that the missionaries were directly involved in the Gilbertese labor scheme, but that they were reticent to openly criticize the

government. The missionaries' success in Hawaii had been based on the premise of courting those in power, so Bingham was acutely aware of the delicate ground on which he was treading in criticizing the labor scheme. Yet, in June of 1879, he had written to Clark in Boston complaining of the vices of the *Storm Bird's* captain who had been hired by the Hawaiian Board of Immigration. Captain Johnson, it appeared, was often drunk and kept several Gilbertese women as mistresses. Bingham wanted his removal and felt "constrained to use . . . efforts to prevent the natives in our mission from coming to these Hawaiian Islands as immigrants in the said vessel."<sup>20</sup>

The *Hawaiian Gazette* of October 1880 detailed the arguments Bingham had given to the members of the Board of Immigration as to the feasibility of transplanting the Gilbertese to Hawaii. Bingham felt this could only be accomplished if certain conditions were adhered to that might well make the whole venture unprofitable. Bingham argued that the Gilbertese would need to be brought in families, which meant that only a proportion of them would actually be available to work on the plantations. He further believed that, rather than the Gilbertese increasing the Polynesian stock, they would only "swell the ratio of decrease."<sup>21</sup>

Bingham's views were not totally representative of either the American or the Hawaiian boards' reaction to the importation of the Gilbertese to Hawaii. His view was largely a personal one; he was very much a lone campaigner on behalf of the Gilbertese and a consistent opponent of their recruitment to Hawaii as laborers. In contrast, the Reverend George Armstrong of Hawaii believed that the whole exercise would prove beneficial to the Gilbertese and that they would "learn more of Christian civilization here in one year than thirty in their own."<sup>22</sup> The Reverend Horace Taylor, who joined Bingham in 1874, was also favorable to the emigration of the Gilbertese. Clark, in Honolulu, received a letter from Taylor early in 1881 that stated:

While I have no wish to help personally, either directly or indirectly in getting this people away from here, I am far from being sorry at their leaving. If they live here they can eat cocoanuts, fish and sawdust [Taylor was most likely referring to *te kabubu*, which is powdered pandanus fruit], dress themselves—perhaps—and sleep. If they go to Honolulu they can't help getting some new ideas, their mouths will be open enough for that, and though it will be hard work for them, their work will amount to something for the world. But I don't think that

they can get all these 25,000 people away from here at once. . . . At all events I am glad . . . that Mr. Bingham has been appointed Protector of the South Sea Immigrants. Those poor people need just such a man to look after their interests.<sup>23</sup>

The Reverend Alfred Walkup, who visited the Gilbertese on their islands in the 1880s, also favored their migration to Hawaii. He wrote to Clark in 1881 that "the labour ships . . . are a good thing and will prove a benefit in the end to the people."<sup>24</sup>

The native Hawaiian missionaries in the Gilberts also did not oppose the Gilbertese leaving. They could hardly do so since it was their king, Kalakaua, who was behind the scheme, a king whom they lauded and with whom they identified. Bingham recognized this problem and disclosed it to Clark: "Our Hawaiian missionaries are very slow to go contrary to the wishes of their king, Kalakaua, and doubtless, would heed his wishes much more than those of the Hawaiian Board."<sup>25</sup> The Hawaiians, even indirectly, must have encouraged the Gilbertese to visit Hawaii when they told them stories of its beauty and wonders.<sup>26</sup> They probably also influenced the Gilbertese in a more direct manner. Captain Whitney, of the labor-recruiting ship *Hawaii*, disclosed in 1880 that "the Hawaiian Missionarys [sic] I have met have talked in favour of the natives immigrating they say they do not make eney [sic] progress in converting them."<sup>27</sup> Tito Haina, son of the Hawaiian missionary on Tarawa, actually told false stories, painting a very rosy picture of life in Hawaii. He told the Gilbertese that they would live with the king in Honolulu and work only when they wished.<sup>28</sup>

Given that no one in the Gilbert Islands was really opposed to the islanders' emigration, it is not surprising that, with the drought-ridden state of the south and the war-torn conditions of the north, an increasing number migrated. Bingham in Honolulu could only watch in despair. On 9 April 1880, 282 Gilbert Islanders landed at Honolulu from the government immigrant vessel *Hawaii*. The immigrants included islanders from Marakei, Butaritari, Makin, and Banaba. The *John Bright* arrived the same day with another hundred Gilbertese. The *Storm Bird* followed in a few weeks with 120 more newcomers. And so, wrote Bingham, "these poor creatures continue to come."<sup>29</sup>

Bingham had only the assistance of the Gilbertese Moses Kaure, his right-hand man who was working with him at Honolulu on his translations. This helper was dispatched on the *Morning Star* to dissuade his fellow islanders from coming to Honolulu. Bingham's plan was to have the *Morning Star* dock at any given Gilbert Island before the labor ves-



sel arrived there. That way a person from the missionary brig could warn the islanders against leaving and announce the dangers of migration. In October of 1880 Kaure was aboard the *Morning Star* and, when at the Gilberts, told "some bad story about the usage of the Natives at the Hawaiian Islands." According to Captain Whitney, "he told enough so that I could not obtain no more immigrants [at Butaritari]." There was also a Hawaiian, one of the crew of the missionary brig, who told the Gilbertese that they would die if they went to Honolulu. Kaure had told the same story, that 25 percent died in Hawaii and that the Gilbertese had to work very hard without suitable provisions. Besides this tactic, Bingham had asked the Gilbertese in Hawaii to write to their relatives and friends back home telling them to remain there.<sup>30</sup>

Bingham had limited success in preventing the immigration of Gilbertese to Hawaii. Even though some were dissuaded, many more wanted to leave the Gilberts. Captain Whitney thought the missionaries were fighting a losing battle by trying to prevent recruitment. Associating the *Morning Star* generally with missionaries, he wrote:

I do not see why the missionarys want to stop them from immigrating for the most of the Islands is over crowded with Natives *and* food is scarce *and* as for christianizing them they will never make any progress the last 20 years experience ought to convince them of the fact for a more demoralized set of beings I have never seen. The Arctic Indians is far ahead of them and they have never seen a Missionary.<sup>31</sup>

Captain Whitney took the *Hawaii* on to Jaluit in the Marshalls to find both the *Storm Bird* and the *Pomare* there. The *Storm Bird* had twenty-eight adults and seven children while the *Hawaii*, in spite of the obstacles set up by the *Morning Star*'s presence, had forty-eight adults and six children. Seventy-eight Gilbertese were waiting at Jaluit. So the Gilbertese continued to come to the land of their teachers.

With Bingham doing all he could to prevent the Gilbertese from coming to Hawaii, it was somewhat ironical that he was requested to assume the position with the Hawaiian Board of Immigration. Yet the Gilbertese would need a protector in the new land. By December 1880 Bingham was that protector. As official protector of the South Seas islanders and agent of the Board of Immigration, Bingham had full power to inspect the condition of the islanders; to enforce all contracts made and to explain these; to hear all complaints on both sides; to settle differences, by law if necessary; and, in his own words, "to cheer the Gilbertese." On behalf of the South Seas immigrants, Bingham was



charged with checking their quarters, food rations, medical care, the schooling of their children, and hearing any complaints. Among his duties were to explain rights and duties, to assist those who needed redress in cases of injustice, and to ascertain how many wished to return to their homeland. For his work as protector, he was to receive one thousand dollars per annum.<sup>32</sup>

Bingham started his work by writing "A Few Hints to Employers," which was published in the *Saturday Press* on 18 December 1880. He informed employers that the majority of Gilbertese were "exceedingly ignorant and degraded heathens . . . the depth of whose ignorance it is difficult even for one well acquainted with them to conceive." He believed that the Gilbertese were entirely unaware of the amount of labor required of them and that 90 percent would say they had been deceived into coming to Hawaii and would want to return home. He told employers that the Gilbertese were unused to hard labor and would suffer from the cooler climate of Hawaii. He depicted the islanders as a very sensitive people who would resent harsh words and rough treatment; "gentleness, kindness, and forbearance" were needed as in the case of "balky horses." The Gilbertese, Bingham wrote, were dangerous when angered. He went on to give more practical advice. As the Gilbertese were jealous of their wives, it was expedient to have married couples work within sight of each other. For the same reason, it was not to be wondered at that men would be reluctant to leave their ailing wives back in the quarters. Bingham further argued that married couples should have a room to themselves. He signed the piece, "Yours in behalf of an ignorant race." Previously, in April 1880, Bingham had published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* another piece where he similarly stated that the Gilbertese were in "extreme ignorance" and that he greatly pitied them.<sup>33</sup>

Bingham's real work was visiting the Gilbertese at the many plantations throughout the Hawaiian Islands. In December 1880 and January 1881, Bingham traveled to the island of Maui, where he visited Lahaina, Olowalu, Waikapu, Wailuku, Paia, Makawao, and Hamakua. But by mid-1882 Bingham was complaining about his health and feeling that his work as protector was very taxing.<sup>34</sup> The work was strenuous at times. Bingham had work not only on Maui but also Oahu, Kauai, and Hawaii. On many of these islands he traveled miles to the various scattered plantations. He attended to his work conscientiously and methodically, making his reports to the president of the Board of Immigration. For a time Bingham forgot about his translation work. "It is true," he wrote to Clark, "that for the time being literary work for the

people has been largely suspended," as it was "when I was in the way of making tours in the Gilbert Islands."<sup>35</sup> For the first time, Bingham did not mind laying aside his treasured translation work.

To explain this change, it is necessary to determine the satisfaction Bingham derived from his care of the Gilbertese. Bingham was certainly an important man in Honolulu at this point, a man sought after for his assistance and advice not only by the Hawaiian government, but also by the Gilbertese. The latter began to look to him for advice, which Bingham enjoyed. The role of protector suited him. Bingham, in describing his congregation of Gilbertese at Honolulu, mentioned one man from Nonouti who lived with them and who wanted to return to the Gilbert Islands as a missionary teacher. Bingham claimed there were others like him and believed that if only he had more physical strength "many more would flock around" him every night.<sup>36</sup> The Gilbertese had become a people with prospects and not just ignorant savages.

So Bingham was happy to give half his time to the American Board of Missions and the other half to the Hawaiian Board of Immigration. He was joyous that while working for the latter he had opportunities to further the gospel work. He wrote: "I have been taking care of them [the Gilbertese] on behalf of the government" and "my opportunities for direct Christian work among them have been greater than they would otherwise have been."<sup>37</sup> Bingham never lost sight of the Christianization of the Gilbertese. He wrote to the Reverend J. O. Means in Boston that it was providential for the Gilbertese to come to Hawaii where he could be appointed as their protector. He now had the opportunity "to preach Christ" and meet the laborers after work in their quarters "to talk about Christ." He went on: "Above all things I do desire to lead them to Christ. I trust, however, that the power to aid them in their temporal conditions opens the way more effectively for me to reach their hearts."<sup>38</sup> These statements place Bingham firmly within the ranks of conservative evangelicalism.

### III

Bingham was interested in several matters on behalf of the Gilbertese. These mainly covered correct payment, treatment while sick, adequate food and accommodation, and cases of maltreatment. He found much to criticize. Bingham was intent on investigating the payment of contract workers. Laborers were supposed to be paid from the day they set foot on Hawaiian soil, yet most were not paid till they actually started

work on the plantations. Payment was to be made at the end of every calendar month, but some plantation owners waited till the end of twenty-six days of labor. Yearly increments were to take effect at the end of a calendar year, but often these were not paid till after 312 days of service. As the Gilbertese were off duty approximately one-quarter of the time, mainly due to sickness, they were seriously disadvantaged by not being paid according to law.<sup>39</sup>

Bingham pursued his duties as protector with thoroughness and, at times, tenacity. But he always viewed issues from both sides. He empathized with overseers who believed the Gilbertese shirked work by pretending to be sick. Bingham wrote on this matter:

So frequent are the cases in which labourers apparently able to work claim to be sick, that sometimes cases occur in which they are pressed to work when really they should be off duty. *This subject is attended with peculiar difficulties*, and yet is one which needs constant examination. The Gilbert Islanders are so given to deception, that we cannot wonder that overseers come to feel that no dependence can be put on their word as to whether they are sick or not when they claim to be unable to work.<sup>40</sup>

Hence there were cases of sick workers being roughly handled. One woman on Kauai was beaten for not working when ill. Another man was hauled out of bed and forced to work while sick. Medical treatment for those injured or ill was a related matter. At times, ailments were ignored if it was too difficult to get a doctor. An islander from Abaiang who had fallen off a horse and suffered a bad injury had been left totally unattended. In another case a sore leg had received no treatment.<sup>41</sup>

Medical attention varied. If a doctor was not available, responsibility devolved onto the plantation owners, who generally administered castor oil and salts. When women were sick, their husbands were not permitted to nurse them unless death was at hand. This was a frequent complaint. At Kohala, one man asserted that he had been dragged off to work while his wife lay dying. Death was a common occurrence. In 1881, at the plantation of a Mr. Purvis at Kealia, seven of nineteen Gilbertese died. Dysentery was the cause of four of those deaths. At Elele, six of nineteen Gilbertese died. Whether on the outer islands or at Honolulu, Gilbertese deaths increased. Half of Bingham's Bible class in Honolulu died within two years.<sup>42</sup> In January 1881, Mahoe informed the Reverend A. O. Forbes of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association



that thirty-four of the 391 Gilbertese brought to Kauai had died. He further claimed that many managers did not care for the sick; some managers even deprived the sick of food with the slogan "no work, no food."<sup>43</sup>

In total, approximately 17 percent of the South Seas islanders died within their contracted time of labor. Although some were old, many others died from dysentery, consumption, and dropsy. The Gilbertese were often sick with bronchitis and influenza. There appear to have been two major reasons for this.<sup>44</sup> One was climatic, the Gilbertese being simply unused to a cool season. The second was that the Gilbertese did not appreciate the necessity of cleanliness in both their accommodation and their clothing. The Gilbertese were unused to cleaning their dwellings because in their homeland they lived in wall-less houses through which fresh breezes blew continually. In Hawaii they were accommodated in walled dwellings, often with insufficient space and ventilation. In addition, the cooler climate of Hawaii forced them to wear Western clothing, which they did not understand needed to be washed regularly.

When Bingham toured the plantations, he noted very few births. This was unusual as abortion was the only method of birth control used by the Gilbertese. Records also indicate that only four Gilbertese women actually married Hawaiian men. Other Gilbertese women lived with Hawaiian men but refused to marry them lest "such marriage would interfere with their return to the Gilbert Islands at the expiration of the three years."<sup>45</sup> Nor do the records indicate that Gilbertese men married Hawaiian women to any extent.

Bingham found that generally the Gilbertese laborers were adequately fed. Both the variety and the amount of food varied from one plantation to another. By law a certain amount of protein had to be provided, which usually took the form of fresh beef (one-and-one-half pounds per person each day), although salmon or other fish, corned beef, pork, or mutton was sometimes provided. The diet also included rice but the Gilbertese invariably preferred taro, it being akin to their native *babai*, and often sold their share of rice in order to procure the taro. The cooks were usually of Chinese extraction, the Chinese having migrated to Hawaii since the 1850s. Sometimes a Chinese cook would favor the Chinese workers and steal food apportioned to the Gilbertese to supplement the Chinese diet. Not a few Gilbertese, dissatisfied with both the quality and variety of food provided, opted to buy and cook their own food. The plantation owners gave them fifty cents a day to do so.<sup>46</sup> There were cases, however, when sick ones did not receive their



rations, as noted by both Mahoe and Bingham. The Gilbertese also entertained friends from other plantations and so the individual portion was somewhat lessened by sharing. At Makee Sugar Company, Bingham confronted the plantation owner, Colonel Spalding, on the matter of inadequate rations. He refused to divulge just how much he fed his workers.<sup>47</sup>

Another of Bingham's concerns was the accommodations of the laborers. Generally he found these inadequate, as rarely did each individual have the three hundred cubic feet required by law. He firmly believed that each family should have a room to itself. On one plantation, Bingham found thirty-nine married couples in one room along with four unmarried men, two unmarried women, and two children. At Eleele nineteen Gilbertese shared a room twenty-one feet by sixteen feet, equipped with just one small window; at Koloa there were seventy people in four rooms; and at Lihue conditions were also very crowded.<sup>48</sup> According to Ethel Damon, a friend of the Wilcox family who owned Grove Farm at Lihue, this was due to the wishes of the Gilbertese themselves who, because of the cold weather, "all wanted to huddle together." Damon also claimed that twelve to twenty-five Gilbertese on one plantation had voluntarily crowded into one house although three were available.<sup>49</sup> Yet in the Gilbert Islands each family had had their own private sleeping place, although there is no doubt that the Gilbertese would have found the Hawaiian winters cold. Bingham believed that the islanders were given inadequate bedding; one blanket was simply not enough, and therefore the Gilbertese were forced to huddle together. On one occasion Bingham found a sixty-foot bunk platform on which many Gilbertese were supposed to sleep; the customary sleeping mat of the Gilbertese was lacking, as was even a straw pillow. At a plantation in Kohala, the laborers' quarters had no water closet "and no retired place nearby." These were the bad cases. At Hamakua Sugar Plantation, the Gilbertese spoke highly of their plantation owner. On Saturdays they were allowed to go home early from work so that they could have Saturday afternoons for their washing and cleaning. There had been no deaths at this plantation.<sup>50</sup>

Both Mahoe and Maka agreed that plantation owners could be either kindly or tough. The good employers cared for their workers, providing good food, decent accommodation, and regular and correct pay. The tough employers economized on food and accommodation costs, neglected the sick, and employed ruthless *luna* who ordered their laborers to work whether they were well or not. The Gilbertese often argued that they were maltreated by the *haole*, "whites," and were regarded

more as slaves than as laborers. According to Mahoe: "They were tearful because of their unfortunate condition."<sup>51</sup> Slaves were held in very low repute in the Gilberts and if the Gilbertese felt like mere slaves, they must have been deeply depressed. Colonel Spalding had openly admitted to Bingham that he used a whip on a man who had not turned out to work when called. Legally, *luna* were not permitted to use a whip, although they frequently cracked them above the men's heads to make them work harder. Further, Spalding had refused to advance wages till the expiration of 312 days of work, so Bingham determined that the matter should be decided in court and made the necessary arrangements. At the Hawaiian Agricultural Company, Bingham also found *luna* who used not only whips but also pistols.<sup>52</sup>

In September 1881, after a visit to Kauai, Bingham submitted a report on the treatment of the South Seas islanders. He made many recommendations. He insisted that wages be paid at the end of each calendar month and that proper lodging (with suitable bedding) be provided, including a separate dwelling for each married couple. The diet of the Gilbertese was to be improved, for there was too much rice to which the Gilbertese were unaccustomed. Also, special diets were necessary during illnesses. The sick were never to be forced to work and were to receive medical attention. All children were to be placed in school. Finally, all cases of cruelty were to be reported.<sup>53</sup> Bingham also advocated sickness and accident benefits, remarkable for that time.

#### IV

It is not known to what extent Bingham's recommendations were adopted. Bingham also complained to individual plantation owners who either excused their activities, like Samuel Wilcox of Grove Farm, Lihue, or openly defied Bingham, like Colonel Spalding of Makee Sugar Company.

It is interesting, however, to ponder the psychological effect of the Gilbertese's having a protector. Plantation conditions were not good for any nationality, although some were paid more than others. But the Gilbertese probably suffered more than most because they were unused to regimented labor and many had been brought to Hawaii under false pretenses. The Gilbertese argued that they had insufficient food, were forced to work when ill, and were maltreated by *luna* who used horse-whips on them.<sup>54</sup>

Bingham noted that, by and large, the plantation owners did not think highly of the Gilbertese as laborers. According to them, the

Gilbertese feigned sickness, got into brawls, generally complained a lot, and did not put in a good day's work.<sup>55</sup> But this was mild behavior when compared with the actions of Gilbertese on German plantations in Samoa or with the actions of other contract laborers in Hawaii.<sup>56</sup> It is surprising that the Gilbertese did not make a bigger nuisance of themselves in Hawaii. The Hawaiian missionaries reported disturbances that occurred among the Gilbertese, who sometimes took the law into their own hands. Charges were frequently brought by the Gilbertese before local magistrates ensuring "trouble and loss . . . [and] money being spent on policemen and Hawaiian lawyers crafty to get money." Brawls and disturbances occurred regularly till 1884. Mahoe reported, with great relief, "no big disturbance among the Gilbertese families on Kauai" in 1884 and 1885. By the mid-eighties, the Gilbertese had begun to obey "the law of the land."<sup>57</sup>

It appears from the Hawaiians' letters that it was only on Kauai that disturbances occurred; how big they were is not known. For the most part the Gilbertese grumbled, took matters to court, and appealed to Bingham and the Hawaiian missionaries who worked on their behalf. There are no cases reported in missionary literature of Gilbertese attacking *luna*, striking, or engaging in arson.

It is suggested that the activities of Bingham and the Hawaiian missionaries, for the most part, deflected the aggressiveness of the Gilbertese, resulting in their restrained behavior. Gilbertese activities on Kauai appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Elsewhere, as Bingham noted, the Gilbertese "naturally looked so largely to me for advice and sympathy." He acknowledged that "as more Gilbert Islanders come to know my power to aid them the more inclined they are to apply to me for aid and advice." Bingham gained affection in return for his assistance. Ethel Damon noted that the Gilbertese, on seeing Bingham approach at a distance, would call out: "Pinaam, Pinaam."<sup>58</sup> Bingham had never received this affection from the Gilbertese in their home islands. The Hawaii Gilbertese, on the whole, obviously had faith in their protector. Bingham enjoyed their confidence. Faith that Bingham would improve their conditions may have deterred the Gilbertese from more violent actions.

Also, an increasing number were becoming Christians. Although a proportion of those Gilbertese who came from the five southern islands were already Christians, many more became so after coming to Hawaii. As early as 1880, the Gilbertese were being received as Christians. In 1881, Maka reported that eighteen had entered the church on Oahu and had asked him not to leave them. Bingham claimed to have "a considerable number of Gilbertese" in Honolulu for whom he maintained a spe-



cial service for more than five years. Lutera, at Lihue on Kauai, found that the number of Gilbertese interested in Christianity was increasing and completely filling “up the place of meeting.”<sup>59</sup> The Gilbertese appreciated his lively approach. He, in turn, had empathy for their condition in Hawaii. Lutera, Maka, and Mahoe all established warm relationships with the Gilbertese, assisting them both spiritually and materially. Kanoho, working at Lahaina on Maui, reported a good sale of books, but had to conclude that “the missionary work here continues the same, it doesn’t climb it doesn’t go down.”<sup>60</sup> Yet a community of Gilbertese Christians would later be formed there. Mahoe claimed that by January 1888 there were thirty-four baptized Christians out of 357 Gilbertese on this island and many more attended services. The Gilbertese returning home took back certificates of their Christian standing.<sup>61</sup>

Not all joined the missionary church. The Gilbertese came under various influences while in Hawaii. Not all were beneficial. There were many temptations, especially in Honolulu—liquor, opium, gambling, and card playing.<sup>62</sup> There were also the Mormons who claimed to be able to cure many illnesses. This claim may have had a special appeal for the Gilbertese. They no doubt distrusted the plantation doctors and it is unlikely that the traditional healers or sorcerers were readily available in Hawaii. The Mormons may have offered something akin to the Gilbertese traditional healer.

Then there was the opportunity to collect arms, which had a strong appeal to many Gilbertese, enabling them to continue wars of revenge upon their return to their islands. Ethel Damon noted this trend among the Gilbertese on Kauai. According to her, “everyone had saved up his wages to buy a rifle.”<sup>63</sup> Alfred Walkup, who joined the mission to the Gilberts in 1880, wrote to the Reverend J. O. Means in Boston in October of 1883 saying that the Gilbert Islanders were returning from Hawaii armed and “only waiting for others to reinforce them to take the island [of Nonouti].” The *Julia* had landed islanders from both Abaiang and Tarawa at Nonouti, where they tried to take over the island.<sup>64</sup> In 1885 Haina, still on Tarawa, wrote to the Reverend Alexander Pogue of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association that the Gilbertese arriving from Oahu had come armed and had started yet another war on that island.<sup>65</sup> Bingham had not quelled the rebellious spirit in all Gilbertese.

## V

Most of the Gilbertese first brought by the Hawaiian government had finished their three-year terms by 1883. On 20 April 1884, the last company of these Gilbertese left the Hawaiian Islands. Bingham resigned



his position as protector in July of 1884. Eighteen months earlier, by the end of 1882, he had virtually ceased his touring on behalf of the Immigration Board, instead spending much of his time arranging the repatriation of those Gilbertese wishing to return home. Every few months the three-year service period ended at some company. The *Storm Bird* returned Gilbertese in June 1881, the *Mana* on 11 January 1883, and the *Julia* on 1 February 1883. In July 1883, Bingham wrote that his "hands were full in making arrangements for sending back some 230 Gilbert Islanders."<sup>66</sup>

Bingham appeared to lose interest in the Gilbertese newcomers still arriving in Hawaii. Private parties continued to bring out Gilbertese laborers although the Hawaiian government had ceased to do so. Bingham explained to the Reverend Judson Smith that he was never told whether his duty extended to these fresh arrivals brought in by private parties; he decided for himself it did not. By November 1883, the government had already returned approximately 750 Gilbertese and Bingham believed that less than three hundred remained. In late February 1884 he calculated that nine hundred had returned.<sup>67</sup> He wrote to Means that "the opportunities for personal work among this people are being constantly diminished in numbers, and more time is available for literary work."<sup>68</sup> On 16 August 1883 Bingham resumed his translation work. He obviously felt that he had fulfilled his duty as protector. Perhaps he felt he had spent enough time on the Gilbertese. He wanted to return to his life's great work, the translation of the Bible into Gilbertese. Bingham was complaining about his health again; in fairness he may have genuinely thought that time was running out for him. He was often obsessed with his death.

Bingham was incorrect in thinking that work on behalf of the Gilbertese was over, for in 1884 Mahoe reported six locations on Kauai where Gilbertese lived. Although many had left, there were fresh arrivals. The following year, Mahoe reported that there were nine locations. The actual number of Gilbertese was increasing: in 1884 there had been 216 on Kauai; in 1885 there were 310. Besides new arrivals, there were Gilbertese coming to Kauai from other Hawaiian islands.<sup>69</sup> A few wanted to remain in Hawaii. These were very much in the minority. Others had specific reasons for not wanting to return home, the most common being that some were both afraid and ashamed to return empty handed. Still the Gilbertese continued to come. In 1887 Mahoe wrote: "I thought my work for the Gilbertese was about through. But in December, 1887, a ship filled with Gilbertese arrived."<sup>70</sup> One hundred and twenty arrived at Lihue, making a total of 230 on Kauai.

Mahoe was concerned about the plight of those wishing to leave Hawaii who could no longer do so. In 1888 he personally interviewed the king, Kalakaua, who was surprised to learn that the Gilbertese were unhappy in Hawaii. "How is it?" he asked. "Do the Gilbertese not want to live here in Honolulu?" Mahoe replied: "No, they have great love for their land."<sup>71</sup> The king wanted the Gilbertese to visit him at his palace where he could show them the latest conveniences including the electric lights. He also arranged the repatriation of the Gilbertese. Mahoe returned to Kauai to ascertain the number of those wishing to go. Very soon enough for two shiploads expressed a desire to leave. The minister of the interior, the Honorable Luther Aholo, ordered the Gilbertese to the Immigration Station at Kakaako in Honolulu, where they waited some time before they finally left. During this time Mahoe held services in Kawaiahao Church for the Gilbertese. He also found work for them so they could buy food. As late as 1890 there were still 147 Gilbertese on Kauai; they were "sorrowful in remembering their homes in the Gilberts and their families located there."<sup>72</sup>

Yet Bingham did not entirely neglect the Gilbertese remaining in Honolulu while engaging in further translation work. He continued to care for the Gilbertese until 1903, when the last of the islanders finally left. There were a number of Gilbertese who had finished their plantation work but could not return to their home islands. They were stranded in Honolulu in 1896, situated in the slums amid dirt and poverty. There they lived in "a tumble-down shanty too old and decayed to be a suitable habitation for human beings in a section where the cholera did sad work last year."<sup>73</sup> This Gilbertese group was made up not only from those who had finished their plantation work but also from newcomers. On 31 December 1894, 167 Gilbertese had arrived in Honolulu.<sup>74</sup> According to Bingham, not one was a Christian. Bingham still worked on their behalf and acted as a trustee, depositing their money and drawing out cash for them in times of need.

Four years later, in 1898, he was helping with the temporal welfare of these same Gilbertese. A few Christian families had donated sums for their relief. Bingham acknowledged that the "Gilbertese poor and sick and infirm in our Honolulu slums" had to be assisted and the dead had to be buried. Fresh immigrants to the city of Honolulu were arriving as late as 1899. They went to the sugar plantations of Maui and Kauai. In August 1899, forty such Gilbertese arrived and joined the growing community of Gilbertese in the slums of Honolulu. To earn a living, the women braided hats and the men engaged in fishing and worked on the wharves. Bingham, on request from some Gilbertese, still looked after

their banking and deposited savings from Gilbertese earnings in the Hawaiian Pastoral Savings Bank. Christian friends continued to donate funds for the relief of the Gilbertese, but Bingham was reluctant to give these to the Gilbertese except in cases of emergency, saying he had no desire to make "rice Christians."<sup>75</sup> Bingham believed himself to be "discreet," but others may question whether he was not obsessed with the purity of motive of his converts.

By 1900 there were two permanent settlements of Gilbertese, one in Honolulu and one at Lahaina, Maui. The Hawaiian, Lutera, was given charge of the Gilbertese at Puunoa, Lahaina; while in Honolulu Charles Isaiah, a Samoan married to a Gilbertese woman, took care of a congregation of seventy, more than half of whom were women. The Honolulu colony was originally near Kakaako but was later transplanted to the shore station near Kalihi.<sup>76</sup> The *Annual Report* of the HEA for 1909 commended this poor yet industrious Honolulu community for its contributions to the mission. In January of 1900, a fire broke out in Honolulu and the Gilbertese were shifted to a relief camp. Accommodation here was free at first, but the Hawaiian government began to demand rent, which some of the Gilbertese simply could not afford. Some became squatters on the sea wall; others lived in makeshift huts of corrugated iron. The following year, the Board of Health demanded their removal. Bingham asked in the *Advertiser* newspaper just where these Gilbertese were expected to go.<sup>77</sup> It had been fourteen years since the last opportunity for free passage to the Gilberts. Some of the people had not even fulfilled their initial contracts until after that. Bingham asked that these Gilbertese be provided with suitable accommodation or be given a passage home. The Gilbertese were transferred to the immigration station at Kalihi Kai.

In 1903 the last group of Gilbertese left Hawaii. Bingham and John T. Arundel, partner in the Pacific Islands Company, made the necessary arrangements. There were then two hundred stranded South Seas islanders, 180 of whom were Gilbert Islanders. Arundel offered to take the company to Tarawa aboard the British ship *Isleworth* for one thousand dollars if the passengers could provide their own food for the ten-day passage. Only thirty-eight of the Gilbertese had any money at all. Two men had saved \$536.35 between them, which was exceptional. The rest averaged approximately \$34 each. Altogether, the Gilbertese collected \$708.70 while Christian benefactors gave a further \$291.30 to make up the thousand dollars. There was also the expense of removing the Gilbertese colony at Lahaina, Maui, to Honolulu. The Gilbert Islanders contributed \$24, benefactors gave a further \$101, while



Wilder & Company donated \$250. These “homesick and disheartened ones” had “waited for an opportunity for half a generation [sixteen years]” to return to their homeland. The ABCFM’s 1904 *Annual Report* stated that the Gilbertese who had saved money “willingly gave what they could . . . to help their fellow countrymen.” The company sailed on 22 October 1903.<sup>78</sup>

It is noteworthy that a community spirit prevailed among the Gilbertese. According to the acting British resident commissioner of 1903, Mr. R. H. Cogswell, all the Gilbertese on board were “followers of Christianity.”<sup>79</sup> Gilbertese custom did not place any islander under the obligation to help a fellow countryman—only those members of one’s own *boti* (lineage through the father). The Gilbertese normally had no concern for those outside their lineage. Perhaps it could be argued that the experience of being a minority group in a strange land had kindled a community spirit, but the influence of Christianity with its emphasis on brotherhood cannot be ignored.

### Conclusion

On arrival at Tarawa, “the old people . . . wept profusely, with joy, at being once more in their native land.”<sup>80</sup> They returned to a new environment; the British had taken over the Gilbert Islands in their absence. The British flag was hoisted and copies of the Native Laws and Local Regulations were handed out to the repatriated, and they were told of law and order. The scene closed with a hymn signifying the two stringent challenges to Gilbertese culture at that date—the coming of Christian religion and the coming of the British flag.

Bingham, from the time of the first arrival in Hawaii of the government-sponsored Gilbertese till the repatriation of the last of the Gilbertese in Honolulu, displayed concern and empathy for the transplanted ones. His humane assistance to them was invaluable. He was never, however, the pure philanthropist. Ever in the back of his mind was the hope that all his good works, and those of the Hawaiian missionaries, would result in the Gilbertese turning to Christ. The preaching of the Christian message was Bingham’s primary task in caring for the Gilbertese.

His good works and those of the Hawaiian missionaries did bear fruit. The proportion of Gilbertese who became baptized Christians in Hawaii was higher than in the Gilbert Islands. They brought back to the Gilberts a community spirit hitherto unknown. This adherence to Christianity may have deflected some of the spirit to fight against the conditions in which they found themselves. It appears that many



Gilbertese looked to Bingham to solve their woes. However, the effect of the Hawaiian experience on the Gilbertese was not uniform. Not all became Christians. Some turned to drink and opium; a few saw the opportunity to amass firearms to take back with them to their home islands. Not one acquired a foot of Hawaiian land and only a few saved any money. Nearly 17 percent of the Gilbertese died. The survivors took back tales of a different society where different laws applied. The Gilbertese horizon was broadened and some adjustment had been made to face the challenge of British rule.

## NOTES

In this paper the arguments are largely drawn from missionary sources, particularly Bingham's writings and the translated words of the Hawaiian missionaries. Some of these needed to be translated from the original Hawaiian. Gratitude is extended to Mr. Kiope Raymond for the translations. I also wish to express my appreciation to the librarians of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library in Honolulu from whence much of the source material came.

1. Tanako was a Gilbertese who had labored in Fiji. He instigated the Anti-Tioba cult on Tabiteuea in the Gilbert group. There are links between the ideas on religion he grasped in Fiji and those he incorporated into his cult. H. C. Maude and H. E. Maude, "Tioba and the Tabiteuean Religious Wars," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 90 (September 1981): 311-316.

2. Richard Bedford, Barrie Macdonald, and Doug Munro, "Population Estimates for Kiribati and Tuvalu, 1850-1900," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 89 (June 1980): 218.

3. This is an approximate number calculated from statistics derived from J. A. Bennett, "Immigration, 'Blackbirding,' Labour Recruiting? The Hawaiian Experience 1855-1871," *Journal of Pacific History* 11 (1976): 3-27. Bingham calculated that some 1,608 Gilbertese had come by 1884 but they continued to come till the end of the nineteenth century (Hiram Bingham, Jr., to William Strong, 26 February 1884, Bingham Family Papers, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu [cited henceforward as BFPH], box 6; Bingham, Notebook as Protector, BFPH, box 6).

4. It is noted in the records of Grove Farm Homestead, Lihue, Kauai, that Gilbertese joined the work force there as early as 1875 (Register of the Grove Farm Plantation Records, Lihue).

5. Bingham, Notebook as Protector.

6. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778-1854: *Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu, 1938), 178-191; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 3, 1874-1893: *The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu, 1967), 126-128.

7. Jacob Adler, *Claus Spreckels: The Sugar King in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1966), 17-19, 56, 131; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3:143, 251. See also Gavan Daws, *A Dream of Islands: Voyages of Self-Discovery in the South Seas* (Queensland, 1980), 129-163, for a stimulating study on Walter Murray Gibson.

8. Bennett, "Immigration, 'Blackbirding,' Labour Recruiting?" 9.
9. Barrie Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire: Towards a History of Kiribati and Tuvalu* (Canberra, 1982), 61; Hiram Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection among South Sea Immigrants in behalf of the Hawaiian Board of Immigration by their agent for the inspection and protection of Immigrants from the isles of the Pacific*, Nov. 2, 1880, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu (cited henceforward as HSA). This source is a goldmine for information on the Gilbertese laborers in Hawaii.
10. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu, 1983), 23-42.
11. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection*, passim.
12. Bingham to N. G. Clark, 7 May 1879, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Papers (Australian National Library, Canberra, microfilm), reel 5 (cited henceforward as ABCFM Papers).
13. Maka, Report on Gilbert Islanders in Hawaii, 1880, ABCFM-Hawaiian Evangelical Association Papers, 1820-1920, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu (cited henceforward as ABCFM-HEA).
14. Bennett, "Immigration, 'Blackbirding,' Labour Recruiting?" 14; Whitney to Wilder, Abstract of a Journal aboard the *Hawaii* at Sea, October 1880, HSA, file 53; Bingham to Clark, 21 October 1880, BFPH, box 6.
15. Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 58-77.
16. HEA Report, 1880, "Report of the Committee on the Work of the Kauai Association, 1879-1880," HEA Archives, 1853-1947, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu; Maka to Bingham, 28 May 1879; Maka to Forbes, 4 May 1881, Micronesian Mission-HEA Papers, 1852-1900, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu (cited henceforward as MM-HEA).
17. Mahoe, Report of the Work among the Gilbertese on Kauai for the Last Part of 1890, MM-HEA.
18. Bingham to Clark, 21 October 1880, BFPH, box 6.
19. Bingham to Clark, 1 November 1880, ABCFM-HEA.
20. Bingham to Clark, 11 June 1879, BFPH, box 6.
21. *Hawaiian Gazette*, 27 October 1880.
22. Bingham to Clark, 1 November 1880, ABCFM-HEA.
23. Horace Taylor to Clark, 8 February 1881, ABCFM Papers, reel 7.
24. Alfred Walkup to Clark, 7 February 1881, ABCFM Papers, reel 12.
25. Bingham to Clark, 24 December 1879, BFPH, box 6.
26. Albertine Loomis, *To All People: A History of the Hawaii Conference of the United Church of Christ* (Honolulu, n.d.), 340-344.
27. Whitney to Wilder, Abstract of a Journal.
28. Ephraim Bray, Report of the 10th Voyage of the *Morning Star*, MM-HEA.

29. *The Friend* 38 (July 1880): 21.
30. Whitney to Wilder, Abstract of a Journal.
31. Ibid.
32. Bingham to Clark, 21 October 1880, BFPH, box 6.
33. Bingham, "A Few Hints to Employers," in *Saturday Press* (Honolulu), 18 December 1880; Bingham in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 1880.
34. Bingham to Clark, 2 May 1882, BFPH, box 6.
35. Bingham to Clark, 14 January 1881, BFPH, box 6.
36. Bingham to Means, 7 December 1881, ABCFM-HEA.
37. Bingham to Clark, 14 January 1881; Bingham to Means, 7 December 1881, ABCFM-HEA.
38. Ibid.
39. Bingham to Carter, 2 May 1882 and 5 August 1881, BFPH, box 6; Bingham, 16 July 1881, in Ethel Damon, Notebook, Grove Farm Museum, Kauai. See Bingham to Armstrong, 28 March 1882, HSA, for the terms of the contracts between Gilbertese laborers and their employers.
40. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection*, 58.
41. Bingham, Notebook as Protector; Bingham, 16 July 1881, in Damon, Notebook; Bingham to Clark, 1 November 1880, BFPH, box 6; Bingham to Strong, 26 February 1884, ABCFM-HEA.
42. Bingham to Strong, 26 February 1884, ABCFM-HEA.
43. Maka, Report on the Gilbert Islanders in Hawaii, 1880.
44. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection*, passim.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., 105-106, 160-164. See also Bingham to Armstrong, 17 April 1882, and Bingham to Bush, 4 September 1882, HSA.
48. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection*, 20, 55, 85, 129, 157. See also Bingham to Bush, 31 October 1882, HSA.
49. Damon, Notebook.
50. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection*, 11, 179.
51. Ibid.; Mahoe, Report of the Missionary Work among the Gilbertese on Kauai from June 1, 1883-May 31, 1884; Mahoe, Report of the Missionary Work among the Gilbertese, May 1, 1885; Mahoe, Report of the Work . . . on Kauai . . . 1890, all MM-HEA.
52. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection*, passim.
53. Bingham, Report upon the Treatment of South Sea Islanders, 8 September 1881, BFPH, box 12.

54. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection*, passim.
55. Ibid.
56. See Doug Munro and Stewart Firth, "From Company Rule to Consular Control: Gilbert Island Labourers on German Plantations in Samoa," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (forthcoming), for examples of Gilbertese behavior in Samoa. The Gilbertese at the German plantations there went on strike on at least two occasions in the 1870s. In the 1890s they further agitated to proclaim distaste about conditions. I am grateful to the authors for forwarding me a version of this paper before publication. Also see Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 127, 148, for activities of other laborers. In 1841, Hawaiian laborers had gone on strike. In 1866, a gang of Chinese laborers refused to take orders and attacked the overseer with knives. There are no such incidents for the Gilbertese. Perhaps a detailed study of newspapers and court records would reveal more. But it is unlikely that aggressive action on the part of the Gilbertese would have gone unreported by both Bingham and the Hawaiian missionaries who were in such close contact with the Gilbertese.
57. Mahoe, Report of . . . Kauai from June 1, 1883–May 31, 1884; Mahoe, Report of Mission Work on Kauai, May 1, 1888, MM–HEA.
58. Bingham to Means, 7 December 1881, ABCFM–HEA.
59. Maka to Forbes, 4 May 1881, HEA Archives; Bingham to Means, 7 December 1881, BFPH, box 6; Mahoe to Forbes, 22 October 1885, HEA Archives.
60. Kanoho to Pogue, 8 June 1881, MM–HEA (translated from the original Hawaiian).
61. Mahoe, Report of . . . Kauai . . . 1888, 11–12.
62. Mahoe, Report of the Work . . . on Kauai . . . 1890; Bingham to Clark, 2 May 1882, BFPH, box 6.
63. Damon, Notebook.
64. Walkup to Means, October 1883, ABCFM Papers, reel 12; Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire*, 63.
65. Haina to Pogue, 2 November 1885, MM–HEA (translated from the original Hawaiian).
66. Bingham, Notebook, BFPH, box 12; Bingham to his sister Sophie, 26 July 1883, Children of the Mission Papers, 1830–1900, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu.
67. Bingham to Means, 3 November 1883; Bingham to Strong, 26 February 1884, BFPH, box 6.
68. Ibid.
69. Mahoe, Report of . . . Kauai from June 1, 1883–May 31, 1884.
70. Mahoe, Report of the Missionary Work on Kauai, June 1887 to June 1888, MM–HEA.
71. Mahoe, Report of the Work . . . on Kauai . . . 1890.
72. Mahoe, Report of . . . Kauai, June 1887 to June 1888.



73. Bingham to Smith, 4 November 1896, BFPH, box 8.

74. Ibid.

75. Bingham to Strong, 7 August 1899, BFPH, box 8.

76. HEA Report, 1901, 70–71; June 1902, 23–24; 1903, 22.

77. Loomis, *To All People*, 344–346.

78. *The Friend* 61 (November 1903): 6–7; *Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Report* 6 (1904): 13; R. H. Cogswell, Enclosure No. 1 in Acting Resident Commissioner's Despatch, No. 2/1904, Western Pacific High Commission File Series 4 (Australian National Library, Canberra), microfilm. See also "How the Gilbert Islander Fund was Raised and Spent," in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 23 October 1903. My thanks go to Dr. Judy Bennett who provided me with copies of the latter two documents.

79. Cogswell, Enclosure No. 1.

80. Ibid.

**MELANESIAN SOCIALISM:  
VANUATU'S QUEST FOR SELF-DEFINITION  
AND PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION**

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In the southwest Pacific, Vanuatu has emerged as one of the region's trouble spots along with New Caledonia. To Prime Minister Walter Lini, his country is doing nothing extraordinary. Yet in a region notable for its conservatism, Vanuatu has opened diplomatic relations with Cuba, Nicaragua, the Soviet Union, and Libya. In addition, Lini has granted fishing rights to the Soviets and at the United Nations he has called for the recognition of Arafat's PLO. Vanuatu's Middle Eastern links have caused much controversy. Libya has been courted assiduously. Many missions have been sent to Libya to seek training, to solicit aid, and on one occasion to attend a conference on world liberation movements. Libya has reciprocated, sending small groups to examine Lini's accomplishments. It was announced that "in a short time, Libya will establish a People's Bureau in Port Vila."<sup>1</sup>

Lini has defiantly asserted Vanuatu's right to determine its foreign policy. As an active member of the Non-Alignment Movement, Vanuatu's actions are deemed only to represent "a policy of independence and diversification in its foreign relations and aid." Lini has described his government's philosophy that guides its strategy of development as Melanesian Socialism. With only about 130,000 people and an export-oriented, monocrop economy heavily dependent on Western

aid, investment, and markets for survival, this choice of socialism has many ironies. In this paper, I look at Melanesian Socialism as adumbrated by Lini, pointing to its sources and the difficulties it may confront in implementation.

Unlike many progressive Third World leaders who are often ambiguous about their radicalism, Vanuatu's Walter Lini embraces socialist ideals. However, Lini is quick to note that his brand of socialism is indigenously derived and therefore should be appropriately described as "Melanesian Socialism." Lini affirms that in socialization and culture, he and his compatriots "remain products of Melanesian Socialism."<sup>2</sup> Equal in importance to the word "socialism" in the phrase "Melanesian Socialism" is the word "Melanesian," which seeks to anchor Lini's ideology in his own indigenous society. Lest he be charged with importing alien ideas, Lini has pointed out that the precepts and practices of Melanesian Socialism preceded Marx and Lenin. He gave the example of his government's land policy to illustrate the point: "Land exists to be used by the community for its needs. This is by definition a socialist principle, but one which we practised hundreds of years before Marx, Engels, or indeed Lenin were even born, let alone heard of."<sup>3</sup> Lini has denounced colonialism and the role of foreign values in transforming Vanuatu society. Hence, to be consistent, he has found it necessary to emphasize that his socialism is Melanesian in nature and origins. Further, Lini separates his socialist beliefs from "communism," fearing that they may be mistaken for or identified with the Soviet variant. Cautious about the possible repercussions of such an association, Lini has noted that "we only have to give a side glance eastwards and we are immediately accused of courting the Communist world."<sup>4</sup> In eschewing the term "communism," Lini has employed the alternative designation "communalism," calling his beliefs at times "Melanesian communalism" or, more often, "Melanesian Socialism."

What, then, is Melanesian Socialism? Lini has expounded on the underlying principles. Its most salient aspect is Melanesian values. These are the cultural beliefs of his people; they allegedly existed in their pristine form in precontact times, but were altered in many ways and varying degrees by colonial rule. The cardinal convictions of Melanesian Socialism can be poignantly depicted by juxtaposing them against their capitalist, antithetical counterparts: communalism versus individualism, sharing versus self-interest, humanism versus materialism. What do these terms mean to Lini? Communalism is "based on an awareness of the community where the individual was not to consider himself or his private interests taking precedence over the general inter-

ests of the community.”<sup>5</sup> Sharing is akin to practices of giving and receiving in Melanesian culture: “Giving was based on one’s ability to do so. Receiving was based on one’s need.”<sup>6</sup> This giving-receiving prescription is similar to the Marxist reward-work relationship: “From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs,” but differs from that found in the Soviet constitution: “From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.” Finally, in Lini’s Melanesian socialist lexicon, humanism refers to the de-emphasis of materialism in human relations and stresses “compassion and mutuality.”

The principles of Melanesian Socialism, then, are simple: communalism, sharing, and humanism. Nothing is said about a mode of analysis such as the historical or dialectical materialism so integral to Marxism, nor are familiar Marxist categories such as property relations, classes, or class conflict explicitly utilized. Even European socialist luminaries are eschewed. For instance, in relation to the role of conflict in the revolutionary transformation process, Lini has invoked not Marx but a black American visionary, Frederick Douglass: “Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, it never will. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without ploughing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning, and want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.”<sup>7</sup> Neither has Lini expounded on his preferred relationship between government and the economy, nor on nationalization. Many of his views bear striking similarity to the populist sentiments of other progressive Third World leaders without being colored by the concepts of a Marxist-Leninist vocabulary.

During the period of colonial control of Vanuatu, the original values of Melanesian Socialism were challenged and in part changed by European and Christian influences. Hence, the Lini regime sees as one of its first tasks the need for a cultural revival; he has called for a “Melanesian Renaissance,” described as “a festival of the spirit.”<sup>8</sup> Melanesian Renaissance refers to “the rebirth of our identity and purpose, and to preserve without inhibition our God-given right to develop in our own way and in accordance with our own values and expectations.”<sup>9</sup> Melanesian Renaissance seeks, then, to eliminate alien ways and influences and in their place to forge institutions “geared and tuned to serving and nurturing the creation of a social, political, and economic order born of the environment of Vanuatu.”<sup>10</sup> Nothing is said about the difficulties that are likely to be encountered in the quest for a collective national identity. For instance, Vanuatu has more than one hundred languages; insti-



tutional cultural variations exist between the Melanesian and Polynesian populations, and even among the Melanesian groups distributed over islands and villages. Westernization has brought into existence a small but significant stratum of ni-Vanuatu who are urban-based, professionally trained, and increasingly individualistic in outlook. Further, the monetization of the economy and the dominance of cash cropping by private economic enterprises pose as much a hurdle to Melanesian cultural revival as the subtle but pervasive influence of Western cultural artifacts and tastes. The challenge to cultural renaissance stems also from the new state collectivity called Vanuatu, which never existed before colonialism and which, in scale and diversity, is strikingly in contrast to the ancient Melanesian village, small and subsistence-oriented. The discovery of the old, pristine Melanesian values may require as much skill in delving into the past as in recreating a mythical heritage to legitimize the proto-socialist intentions of the contemporary rulers.

### Sources of Melanesian Socialism

The origins of Melanesian Socialism point to several sources. Christianity perhaps provided the most immediate and incisive inspiration. Walter Lini himself is a trained Anglican (Episcopalian) pastor; he attended Christian theological seminaries in the Solomon Islands as well as in New Zealand. In recounting the events that led to his vocation as a Christian priest, Lini said: "One evening while I was at prayer, I became completely overwhelmed with the challenge that God had given me. Try as hard as I could, I was not able to find any alternative to that of becoming a priest. So I dedicated myself to becoming a priest."<sup>11</sup> Lini's education, like that of nearly all ni-Vanuatu during the colonial period, was acquired in Christian denominational schools. He served as an altar boy when young and he frequently sought advice from priests about pursuing a career. It is, therefore, not accidental that so many of the doctrinal features of Melanesian Socialism bear close resemblance to basic Christian tenets. Lini, however, did not think that the European planters, administrators, and missionaries were sincere Christians: "While the Christian religion was widely compatible with the ethic and principles of Melanesian Socialism with its emphasis on mutuality, compassion, and caring for one another, it was a practice that very few Europeans appeared to follow."<sup>12</sup> He condemned many of the early Christian missionaries for failing to understand or accept Melanesian spiritual practices: "Practices which had very real social and spiritual value were outlawed by many of the early exponents of the

Christian religion.”<sup>13</sup> Lini, however, noted that in their ideal form, Christian ethical values bore great affinity to Melanesian values. It is not too farfetched, therefore, to assume that he sees Christianity as socialist as much as Melanesian culture. Like Lini, many of the founders and activists in his party, the Vanuaaku Pati (which spearheaded the struggle for independence), attended Christian denominational schools and theological colleges. Among the Vanuaaku Pati parliamentarians and cabinet ministers there is a large contingent of pastors and catechists.

Another major source of Melanesian Socialism emanated from Papua New Guinea (PNG), where in the early 1970s a radical challenge against the colonial authorities was mounted for independence.<sup>14</sup> The ideology of the PNG nationalists was represented by the term “the Melanesian Way.”<sup>15</sup> Its chief proponents were Father John Momis and Bernard Narokobi, who advocated a radical restructuring of the PNG society and the polity after independence. Several ni-Vanuatu students who were subsequently to become executive members of the Vanuaaku Pati in Vanuatu attended the University of Papua New Guinea, which was then the hotbed of anticolonial radicalism in the southwest Pacific. Related to the PNG source is the Tanzanian connection.<sup>16</sup> On the faculty of the University of Papua New Guinea, especially concentrated in the law school, was an influential contingent of expatriate lecturers with extensive experience in Tanzania and sympathy for Julius Nyerere’s populist socialist beliefs. Several of these persons established intimate advisory relationships with Papua New Guinea’s radical nationalists. After PNG’s independence, several of these persons traveled to Vanuatu, where they served the ni-Vanuatu nationalists on constitutional and political matters. During the struggle for Vanuatu’s independence, several ni-Vanuatu nationalists visited and sought training and advice in Tanzania.<sup>17</sup> The cumulative effect of the Tanzanian factor has been obvious in shaping aspects of Vanuatu’s policies. In his speeches Prime Minister Lini often refers to “the good thoughts of my comrade Nyerere.”<sup>18</sup> More substantively, like Tanzania and PNG, Vanuatu has promulgated an extensive leadership code bearing much resemblance to the Arusha Declaration and a system of decentralization to bring decision-making powers closer to the people.<sup>19</sup> Further, the Tanzanian version of African socialism has had much impact in orienting Vanuatu’s foreign policy to that of the nonaligned movement. It is no accident, then, to find an uncanny resemblance between the views of Melanesian Socialism and Tanzanian socialism in relation to nonalignment and the critique of international capitalism and imperialism.

Together, then, the external sources of Melanesian Socialism—Christianity, the nationalist ideology (“the Melanesian way”), and the Tanzanian factor—when added to the egalitarian aspects of Melanesian culture provided the ideological compass for the Vanuaaku Pati’s policies. Clearly, Melanesian Socialism is not solely Melanesian. To be sure, Melanesian culture stresses traditional egalitarian and meritocratic principles in the assignment of power and collective decision making. But clearly the role of Christian, African socialist (Tanzanian), and “Melanesian way” (PNG) factors have affected institutional practices such as local government and decentralization, party organization, the leadership code, and foreign policy. To Lini and his party, however, it is crucial to underscore the distinctiveness of Melanesian Socialism, especially in relation to the legitimization of social change directed by government policy.

### **Melanesian Socialism: The Challenge of Implementation**

Translating the principles of Melanesian Socialism into practical programs at the domestic level has been among the most difficult, if not the most ironic, aspects of the Lini administration. The ideals of communalism, sharing, and human sensitivity embedded in the doctrines of Melanesian Socialism do not constitute an operational blueprint for ready implementation. To apply the general ideas over uncharted policy terrain in the modern state, and in doing so to maintain the spirit of the doctrines, has been the critical challenge. The task has been made doubly difficult because Vanuatu under Melanesian Socialism bears little likeness to the postcolonial polity and economy bequeathed by the colonial powers after nearly a century of control. That was a society increasingly shaped by capitalist, individualist, and materialist motifs. If Melanesian Socialism were to entail radical alteration of social, economic, and political structures, then its task would be nothing short of revolutionary change. In this section I look briefly at each segment of Vanuatu—polity, economy, and society; describe what was inherited; and then evaluate the performance of the government in implementing its vision of the future Melanesian socialist state.

#### **Polity**

With only about 135,000 people scattered over a dozen major and many more smaller islands, and speaking about 110 indigenous languages apart from French, English, and Bislama (local pidgin), the Republic of



Vanuatu became independent in 1980. The most significant political fact of the modern Vanuatu state in relation to Melanesian culture and history is its relatively recent administrative union. The traditional ni-Vanuatu polity typically consisted of small-scale units of fifty to three hundred persons, decentralized into numerous autonomous, democratic societies that practiced collective decision making through extended discussion and debate until a consensus was reached. Hence, when the colonial powers created a single political unit under their control, they simultaneously violated several indigenous practices, namely: (1) the operational size of the society, (2) the democratic consultative system of decision making, and (3) the meritocratic-equalitarian norms of social organization. To those who seek a Melanesian Renaissance, therefore, a daunting challenge beckons. Vanuatu was administered a particularly virulent form of colonial control. Instead of being burdened by only one colonial master, it was controlled by two, the French and the British, in what was called a "condominium." Over the course of nearly a century (1887–1980), little was done until the 1970s to engage ni-Vanuatu in collective decisions affecting their lives. To be sure, after seven decades of nonconsultative administration, local councils were introduced in 1957. But after a decade and a half, the councils remained substantially nominated bodies with limited powers and functions. Their form was imported and inappropriately adapted to ni-Vanuatu political culture. They were less intended as a preparatory school to foster democracy and advance the colony toward self-government than aimed at maintaining law and order in defense of expatriate interests.

If local grass-roots initiatives were ignored, the new national institutions that were created by the imperial powers were as alien as they were novel. From 1887, when England and France assumed control of the archipelago as a "sphere of joint influence" and agreed to establish a Joint Naval Commission "charged with the duty of maintaining order and protecting the lives and property of British subjects and French citizens in the New Hebrides," to 1980, when the condominium administrative structure was dismantled, the form of government was bifurcated. A dual-headed state structure emerged particularly after 1906, when the English and French appointed resident staffs in Vanuatu to oversee the interests of their citizens. When this arrangement proved inadequate for maintaining order in the midst of expatriate grabs for indigenous lands, the French and English negotiated a more comprehensive condominium "Protocol" in 1914, by which they governed jointly. While on the one hand, under the Protocol a common core of government activities such as customs, postal services, and public works



was carried out jointly by a combined Anglo-French administration, on the other, a larger set of services such as health and education was administered by separate French and English staffs.

Underlying Anglo-French cooperation were suspicion and rivalry between the two imperial powers for territory and resources. The Anglo-French administrative structure superimposed an artificial cleavage that came to pervade most aspects of ni-Vanuatu life. In daily interaction, the French and British administrators and their respective citizens, businesses, and churches were engaged in intense competition for the loyalty of ni-Vanuatu. While at one level this provided opportunities for some ni-Vanuatu, overall the impact was disastrous. After decades of such rivalry, some ni-Vanuatu spoke French, attended French schools, went to French-run Catholic churches, and availed themselves of French-administered services. Other ni-Vanuatu spoke English, attended English schools, went to Protestant (mainly Presbyterian) churches, and accepted English-run government services. The terms of the 1914 Protocol legalized and institutionalized this polarization. Because of the pervasiveness of the public bureaucracy in the life of the colonial state, this administrative division deepened the reli-giolinguistic segmentation in the society. Further, it created a wasteful duplication in personnel and services; there were different laws, procedures, traditions, and even typewriters. In addition, Anglophone and Francophone ni-Vanuatu acquired the jealousies and distrust that the English and French held for one another.

Without indigenous concepts of large-scale government organization found in the modern state, such as a public bureaucracy, ni-Vanuatu accepted those introduced by their colonial masters. The ni-Vanuatu had no other choice, for the infrastructure of political institutions of the modern European state—derived from the peculiarities of European history and society—was superimposed, like a scaffold, on the indigenous system, creating a new if abhorrent political reality. As independence approached, the repressive colonial apparatus was challenged by a group of ni-Vanuatu leaders. But the institutions through which they mobilized public opinion, such as the political party, and the reforms that they demanded, such as an elected parliament, all reflected practices of the European liberal democratic state. The doctrines of liberation invoked for political change, such as sovereignty and popular representation, were also of European ancestry. Practices of precontact Melanesian culture would have to be brought later to bear on the structures of politics implanted by the Europeans.

Repercussions of the bifurcated administrative structure reverberated

in the area of party formation. The political parties that emerged in the early 1970s in anticipation of the condominium powers' conceding universal adult suffrage and establishing an elected representative assembly were almost exclusively based on either Anglophone or Francophone ni-Vanuatu support. The New Hebrides Culture Society, which was formed in July 1971 and became the New Hebrides National Party in August 1971, was constituted mainly of English-speaking ni-Vanuatu. The National Party agitated for an accelerated program toward the granting of independence. This in reaction triggered the launching of several Francophone parties (most importantly, the Union des Communautés des Nouvelles Hébrides and the Mouvement Autonomiste de Nouvelles Hébrides) that opposed early self-government. Organized all the way to rural villages and hamlets, these parties mobilized Francophone and Anglophone ni-Vanuatu into exclusive, antagonistic political groupings. In certain places the contest among the parties spilled over into violence, especially on Malekula and Efate islands. The parties not only defined the issues and debated them, but because of their exclusive religiolinguistic bases, they exacerbated the internal bifurcation of the society. Throughout the 1970s, demonstrations, boycotts, and political agitation by the parties were the order of the day. The contest crystallized over two main issues. The first concerned the date of self-government. The second dealt with the substance of the constitutional and political structures that were to prevail after independence. It was the latter issue that eventually emerged as the more salient area of controversy. Specifically, the Francophone ni-Vanuatu who constituted a minority of about 30 percent of the population feared domination by an Anglophone majority. The problem was to design a constitutional system that entrenched the protection of minority rights and identity. But many Francophone expatriates did not trust such a solution and preferred to dismantle the archipelago into separate independent states.<sup>20</sup> These persons cultivated and nurtured the Anglophone-Francophone cleavage among ni-Vanuatu, especially on Santo and Tanna islands. The objective was to prepare these islands for secession.<sup>21</sup>

Toward the end of the 1970s, the internal struggle reached a head. While a decentralized form of regional government was agreed upon by most parties, several disenchanted Francophone expatriates in collaboration with external interests planned the secession of Santo and Tanna islands. In mid-1980, when independence was conceded under the Protestant-oriented and predominantly English-speaking Vanuaaku Pati (formerly the National Party) government, civil war broke out. Santo

and Tanna declared unilateral independence, and without the intervention of Papua New Guinean troops, it was likely that Santo would have succeeded in separating.<sup>22</sup> The government of Walter Lini suppressed the secessionists, jailed or deported their leaders, and enforced a regime that bore the unmistakable imprint of an English-speaking, Protestant government. The system of decentralized regional government intended to protect minorities was unceremoniously scrapped.<sup>23</sup>

In the end, Vanuatu became an independent state, but with its political backbone crippled. A massive fissure dividing the victorious Anglophone population from the Francophone remained as the most distinct feature of the polity. The parliamentary system of government adopted was staffed mainly by Anglophone ni-Vanuatu. The governing Vanuaaku Pati made few concessions to its adversaries. It composed its first cabinet only of its own confessional and linguistic adherents. At independence, a disunited nation was launched into the international community. The country was not only severely divided and ravaged by civil strife, but it also inherited enemies in neighboring French-controlled New Caledonia who harbored designs to destabilize the new nation.<sup>24</sup>

While the Republic of Vanuatu has survived its traumatic birth, severe internal political problems remain. The ruling Vanuaaku Pati is riven with dissension: during the first five years of independence, more than half of the cabinet had resigned and several votes of no confidence were introduced against Prime Minister Lini. Even though aid from both France and England has been restored, the Francophone opposition party (the "Moderates" under Vincent Boulekone) has charged that the English bias of the Vanuaaku Pati is making Vanuatu "a colony of Australia."<sup>25</sup> Many positive events have also occurred, however, and the Vanuaaku Pati government was returned to power in the 1983 elections, although its popular majority was reduced from 67 percent in 1979 to 55 percent in 1983.

### Economy

The contemporary Vanuatu economy is based mainly on copra, although during the last decade tourism, offshore banking (a tax haven), and beef production have introduced some diversification. Until recently, copra provided about 75 percent of total export earnings and, notwithstanding low contemporary world prices, continues to generate most cash income for the population. With practically no industrial base, Vanuatu depends heavily on five primary export products for sur-



vival: copra, 75 percent of the total; beef, 11 percent; cocoa, 8 percent; timber, 2 percent; and coffee, 1 percent. The direction of export trade points to extraordinary dependence on Western products within EEC countries (Belgium and the Netherlands bought 94 percent of Vanuatu's copra in 1982), Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and the United States. Imports by national source show Australia with 34 percent; New Zealand, 10 percent; France, 9 percent; Fiji, 9 percent; and socialist East Europe countries with very negligible amounts. The impact of this export-import dependency is in part offset by the fact that some 80 percent of the population is still rural-based with about 30 percent made up of almost completely subsistence farmers.<sup>26</sup>

Despite copra's preeminent role in the economy, the original reason for commercial contact with the Vanuatu archipelago was another product, sandalwood.<sup>27</sup> Harvested primarily in the 1840s, the sandalwood exported by European traders to China in exchange for tea was in short supply. Sandalwood was soon exhausted within a few decades and other items emerged as the main commercial reason for continued external contact and colonization. During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the recruitment of indigenous labor (called "blackbirding") for service on Australian plantations predominated. During the 1860s and 1870s, English (mainly Australian) and French settlers established cotton plantations in the islands to capitalize on the shortage of cotton caused by the American Civil War. When, like sandalwood, cotton production and blackbirding became unprofitable enterprises, the expatriate settlers resorted to coconut production, which then became the mainstay of the cash economy, a situation that continues to the present.

Rivalry between French and English settlers influenced colonial penetration of Vanuatu. While individual settlers acquired land and organized plantation cultivation of cash crops, other commercial activities such as shipping and trading were dominated by two large companies, one English (Australian) and the other French, with both receiving subsidies for their operations from their respective governments. The French firm, the *Compagnie Caledonienne des Nouvelles-Hebrides* (CCNH), initiated trading with the islands in 1882 and embarked on a massive drive to acquire local land. In response the Australian firm, *Australasia New Hebrides Company* (ANHS), was launched in 1889 and it, in turn, sought to acquire land and sponsor English commercial activities. These companies actively promoted settlement of the Vanuatu archipelago among their own nationals, who engaged in feverish competition to obtain land and win control over the islands. The two companies and their lineal successors would not only dominate trade in



the late nineteenth century but through the twentieth also. Their contemporary successors are Burns Philp of Australia and the *Compagnie Francaise Immobiliere des Nouvelles-Hebrides*.

Coconut production on a plantation scale entailed two far-reaching consequences. First, abundant cheap labor was required. This was supplied by indigenous labor on an indentureship system. Where local labor was inadequate, the French planters in particular imported Tonkinese migrants from Indochina to fill the gap. Indigenous labor recruitment would disrupt village life and initiate the alteration of the traditional needs of the indigenous population as the colonizing powers vied to capture the loyalty of the ni-Vanuatu. Second, plantations required large tracts of land. Through dubious methods, about 40 percent of all arable land was alienated to foreigners. Nearly all cash cropping was in expatriate hands. European-owned plantations produced ten to twelve thousand tons of copra annually, of which ni-Vanuatu owners produced about 15 percent prior to World War II. The legacy bequeathed for an independent Vanuatu was an agricultural economy that was erected around one major export crop; a land tenure system in which large tracts were under alien ownership; and a cash economy almost wholly under foreign control.

Following World War II, the condominium powers sought to diversify the coconut plantation-dependent economy. Foreign firms were invited to invest in other activities. In 1956, the Japanese Mitsui South Pacific Fishing Company was opened on Santo island. In 1962, a manganese company was erected on Efate island. In the late 1960s, an abortive attempt was embarked upon by a group of foreign land speculators to establish holiday resorts. Timber, cocoa, and beef production also received attention. Timber exports peaked at about \$1 million (U.S.) per year by 1972, but tapered off toward the end of the decade. Cocoa exports reached about \$175,000 (U.S.) by 1978.<sup>28</sup> Beef production and exports flourished and maintained a steady but small part of exports, about \$1.5 million by 1978. There were changes in the structure of copra production. In the 1960s and throughout the 1970s, agricultural cooperatives were extensively introduced as the means to organize indigenous coconut production and sale, as well as to serve as agencies to control retail trade of consumer products among rural ni-Vanuatu. In what was to become one of the most spectacular stories in the Pacific Islands, the cooperative movement in Vanuatu successfully turned over most of the country's coconut production to indigenous control and captured a significant part of the rural retail business in consumer products. To be sure, the two major English and French multinationals,

Burns Philp and Ballande respectively, continued to dominate most of the retail and wholesale business in Vanuatu. And while the co-op movement has indigenized aspects of local production and distribution, it has failed to move the country away from its excessive reliance on coconut production geared to an externally controlled market.

Other economic activities were also undertaken to diversify the Vanuatu economy. In 1971, the British administrators in the condominium introduced a tax haven to generate new income. Under the New Hebrides Companies Regulations, offshore companies were registered and permitted to operate free from the scrutiny of public tax inspectors. Several companies established offices in Vila, the capital of Vanuatu, and set off a boom in commercial activities, mainly in communications, accounting, and office buildings and other infrastructures associated with tax haven activities. By 1976, about 479 tax exempt companies were registered. In 1981, this had increased to 531. By 1985, about 1,107 companies were registered, of which 644 did business exclusively overseas. In addition, eighty-five banks were registered, of which only five engaged in local retailing. From the offshore tax haven and banking system, some three hundred local jobs have been directly created as well as about \$2 million (U.S.) annually generated in taxes for the government. Vanuatu has also opened an international shipping registry; in 1983, forty-eight ships were registered and in 1986, about sixty-eight ships.

Tourism also emerged as a major source of national income. Starting slowly in the early 1970s and accelerating, some thirty thousand tourists arrived by 1979. While the civil strife during 1980 temporarily curtailed this new source of economic activity, tourism picked up again so that by 1983 it surpassed copra as the country's chief foreign exchange earner. In 1986, about twenty-eight thousand tourists arrived; they generated about one thousand local jobs. But, like coconut and copra, tourism is dependent on external sources. Most tourists come from Western countries, mainly Australia, New Zealand, and the U.S. Hence, tourism further exacerbates the reliance of Vanuatu on external forces for its survival.

Finally, and adding even more to the country's dependence on Western sources for its well-being, is the role played by foreign aid, nearly all of it bilateral. Derived mainly from Britain, France, and Australia, aid constitutes about 50 percent of Vanuatu's total government revenues. In effect, foreign aid is essential not only to maintain and extend vital infrastructures, but also to defray the cost of recurring expenditure for salaries in the public service. Some of this aid is directly linked to yet

another area of dependence, namely the need for skilled professional people. Aid pays the salaries of skilled expatriate staff who provide a vital support to the public service.

In summary, then, copra, tourism, tax haven, and foreign aid provide the backbone of the economy. All the economic activities, in turn, are under the control of external actors, nearly all Western sources.

### Society and Culture

The term "Melanesian Renaissance" has been used by the Lini government to suggest that, culturally and socially, Vanuatu is scheduled for a period of radical transformation, "a festival of the spirit."<sup>29</sup> Melanesian Renaissance has become a catchword in Lini's policy orientation. The promise is that the colonial past will be uprooted and jettisoned to launch an era of renewal. For more than a century, Vanuatu societies were altered by European penetration. Not merely was the structure of government implanted of European origin, but institutions closest to the people such as the schools and churches were English and French, each playing a deeply influential role in the lives of ni-Vanuatu. In effect, the impact of alien entry was not confined to extraction of resources so that, after the colonial powers were evicted, the traditional cultural heritage could be easily restored. What colonialism did was to architecturally recast indigenous social structure into a mold reflecting European ways and serving their interests. As Franz Fanon noted, "the forced occupation of one's land soon entails the occupation of one's psyche by the same oppressor. An oppressor who occupies another land sooner or later settles in the very center of the dominated. Oppression is thus neither piecemeal nor selective. In the end, the victim is totally victimized. . . ."<sup>30</sup>

In effect, Melanesian Renaissance confronts a formidable challenge in rejecting the present and returning to the past. From prolonged colonial penetration, fundamental social patterns were reshaped. The area of social equality and reciprocity serves as an example of such impact. Mainly through cash cropping, altered land tenure, wage labor, and large-scale plantation production of export crops, new forms of social inequality and class differentiation have emerged. Anthropologist Margaret Rodman has traced this process of incipient class formation on Longana:

A category of relatively rich peasants is emerging in Longana through inequalities of customary land distribution that allow a



few large landholders to earn incomes at least four times as large as the average copra producer. The production strategies large landholders follow, together with new kinds of entrepreneurial, middleman, and landlord relations, mark the beginnings of differentiation between categories of Longanan peasants. Wealthy peasants operate more and more as capitalists. They come to hold more land and control more wealth at the expense of smaller peasant farmers, who ultimately could be expected to fall back on their own labor power as wage workers.<sup>31</sup>

The manner in which inequality has evolved has ironically been through the legitimating cover of *kastom* (tradition). In the contemporary situation, where indigenous entrepreneurs seek expression of their individualist quest for power and wealth, this practice of accumulation has proceeded inexorably and seemingly consistent with the traditional behavior of big men. Thus, inequality has been progressively implanted in the countryside where most of the population including the peasantry reside, altering and undermining the bases of established social and power relations. Notes Rodman: "The course of differentiation is proceeding slowly. The fact that the process of incipient class formation is in such very early stage allows the illusion to persist that inequality between ordinary men and those who are wealthy landholders is fundamentally no different than past inequalities between men of rank and their followers."<sup>32</sup>

Inequality and class distinctions are more evident in the urban sectors where ni-Vanuatu wage earners, professional persons, and civil servants obtain ready and lucrative employment that sets them distinctly apart from each other as well as their rural compatriots. In both the rural and urban areas, the Lini government, in the years it has been in power, has done practically nothing to divert or decelerate the forces that have stimulated disparities in wealth acquisition and its attendant social differentiation. Melanesian Socialism is yet to come to terms with this problem, which strikes at the very foundations of communalism, sharing, and nonmaterialistic humanism. In fact, the Lini government's well-deserved praise for bringing economic prosperity to Vanuatu, by promoting local capitalist initiatives and enterprises, is the very cause of continued acceleration of class formation and differentiation.

In another area of social change pertaining to *kastom* chiefs or traditional leaders, the Lini government has been going in two directions at the same time. At the rhetorical level, in accordance with the vision of



Melanesian Renaissance to recognize ancient practices, a National Council of Chiefs and similar regional councils were established to accommodate the views of traditional big men and elders, especially in the area of cultural affairs. But to accommodate the role of *kastom* chiefs is often to accept authoritarian acts that contravene the idea of accountability preached by the Vanuaaku Party itself. In practice, where conflict of this sort arises, the new democratic ideas are made to supersede old conventions. In one community study on the island of Aoba, it was demonstrated that sacrosanct traditional leadership was set aside under the behest of Melanesian Socialism for it was now the "obligation of *kastom* chiefs to be accountable to an electorate . . . or else be bypassed."<sup>33</sup> In one notable instance, on Lini's own home island of Pentecost, *kastom* chiefs who, in 1982, had imposed excessive fines on offenders were themselves jailed.<sup>34</sup>

Apart from the areas related to class formation, inequality, and traditional leadership, similar social changes reflecting the forces of Westernization have taken their toll in creating among many of Vanuatu's predominantly youthful population a new popular culture with themes and practices radically divergent from the traditional ethos. Specifically, in the areas of intergenerational conflict, young ni-Vanuatu defy their elders and *kastom* in asserting their right to venture in chosen directions such as picking their own marriage partners. In the area of rural-urban migration (where a slow drift has stimulated new consumer tastes and created new occupational possibilities), in the critical sphere of dispute settlement (where new Western judicial processes have been introduced), in all these areas and many more, the forces of social transformation challenge the task of Melanesian Renaissance to return to the past. Tonkinson has pointed out that the program of returning to the past has stirred fears that

because the leaders of the independence movement were evoking a revival of *kastom* as a symbol of national identity and unity, they were obliged to keep its meaning as generalized as possible. The masses for whom this consciousness-raising was designed tended not to interpret the message ideologically; instead, they grappled with it in terms of practicality, and much confusion resulted. People in some rural areas took the message quite literally. They worried about a return to grass skirts and penis-wrappers, spears and bows and arrows, and wondered whether they would have to destroy non-*kastom* things such as hunting rifles, aluminum dinghies, outboards, and so on. If they were to return to the rule of *kastom* law, and

revive the graded society or male initiation, who among them still remembered enough to make such things feasible? And what of good and bad *kastom*? Surely they would not be asked to revive warfare or cannibalism or the practice of women walking on their knees in the presence of certain male kin, etc.<sup>35</sup>

In effect, Melanesian Socialism will have to fight not only against the new, accepted alien social practices that have been gradually embedded, but also will have to seek to implement its program by reinventing conventions to legitimize the novel practices.<sup>36</sup>

In the area of land, where the indigenous inhabitants lost their resource to European settlers, the Lini government has acted to remedy the situation. Enshrined in the independence constitution is the provision that "all land in the Republic belongs to the indigenous custom owners and their descendants." However, the task of discovering the bona fide owners of the alienated land has triggered claims and counterclaims and revived old traditional conflicts among indigenous groupings, threatening to add another tier of internal dissension to the already severely divided state. The Lini government sees in the return of land to its original owners the possibility of restoring the foundations of an old traditional order. But such an objective in the land policy may have come too late, for other forces have entered Vanuatu society, challenging and undermining the old ethos. Specifically, the foreign-controlled capitalist economic structures—whose pattern of economic development under the Lini government continues to bestow on distant investors and markets the economic destiny of the new nation—have also radically altered the economic behavior of the most influential ni-Vanuatu. The new monetized economic system that the colonial powers introduced has stimulated the creation of private property, the profit motive, unbridled individualism, and exaggerated selfishness, and has gradually modified the communalistic motifs of traditional society. The modern monetized sector in particular has permeated all aspects of ni-Vanuatu life (in some places more so than others) and has created a growing indigenous minority class of propertied, educated, privileged, and salaried individuals. The ni-Vanuatu leadership elite come essentially from this group, whose habits and life-style imitate the Western materialist consumer model and, in turn, attract the ni-Vanuatu young to their fold. Lini's Melanesian Renaissance thus faces the growth of Western secularization and urbanization influences that have made major inroads in altering ni-Vanuatu traditional practices.

It is in this context fraught with contradictions that Lini announced

his policy of Melanesian Renaissance: "The great adventure of independence and the duty of presiding over the rebirth of our identity and purpose and to preserve without inhibition our God-given right to develop in our own way and in accordance with our own values and expectations essentially means casting aside many of the inherited attitudes that at present bolster natural practices that are alien to the Melanesian mind."<sup>37</sup> Despite major erosion of traditional culture, Lini, who paradoxically is a Christian priest, feels that indigenous culture possesses enough resilience to recapture and revitalize the past. He, however, does not believe that all things European should be replaced, saying that "we will take with us into the future those aspects of European practice which undoubtedly are beneficial."<sup>38</sup> Just exactly how he intends to tear the social structure apart to separate desirable from undesirable portions has been left unspecified.

### Analysis, Comment, and Conclusion

A small, almost powerless Third World country that professes a variant of socialism but is hemmed in geopolitically by pro-Western and potentially hostile powers tends to attract sympathy. Vanuatu, in particular, has been unfortunate; it was burdened not by one, but by two colonial powers simultaneously. It was left with not one alien colonial imprint but with two, which further intensified the splits in the sociocultural personality of the country. Poor, small, dominated, remote, and endowed with few resources, but possessed of a strong desire to chart its own course to development, Vanuatu deserves sympathetic analysis. No evaluation of the new nation and its ideology of Melanesian Socialism can fail to consider the adverse historical background from which the country seeks to extricate itself to assert its independence and a dignified identity. It is with this in mind that these final comments will be made about Melanesian Socialism.

Is "Melanesian Socialism" a complete, comprehensive, and integrated ideology? Clearly, it focuses on certain aspects of life while omitting others. At one level, Melanesian Socialism is intended as reproof of European colonial practices in Vanuatu. It is much more than that, however. It is intended to serve as a broad policy map that guides the Vanuatu ship of state toward particular destinations. As a practical guide, however, it provides a poor portrait of the waters to be traversed. It is erected on a paucity of principles: communalism, sensitivity, and sharing. It does not enunciate a theory or definition of the purpose of man and society, although it can be construed to embrace a collectivist



social structure with strong humanist motifs. But its sweep of prescriptions is too wide and abstract to serve as a map to instruct practical policy. More specifically, it needs to spell out those structures of Melanesian society and culture that it embraces and those it rejects. Obviously, many traditional ni-Vanuatu practices such as gender and role inequalities cannot be easily subsumed under the egalitarian doctrines of Melanesian Socialism. The fact that Lini is a Christian, and a Christian pastor at that, does not clarify the problem; rather, it confuses it immensely. Are we to assume that Christian values are coterminous with Melanesian socialist beliefs?

Even if fundamental assumptions are not articulated, at least a more comprehensive institutional exposition and analysis is required to give respectability and credibility to Melanesian Socialism. For instance, what sorts of economic and political structures are preferred? It cannot be inferred that because Lini condemns the capitalist market model that all nonmarket models are preferred. Can it be legitimately argued that because the Vanuatu state under Lini's control since 1980 has been overwhelmingly capitalist that Melanesian Socialism accepts capitalism in practice but abhors it in theory? During the years of Lini's stewardship of the Vanuatu state, the capitalist structures inherited from the colonial powers have been further entrenched rather than diminished. To be sure, there has been limited state intervention in the Vanuatu market economy and some public equity participation in businesses established by foreign firms. But none of these modifications has struck at the root of the profit-based free enterprise mode of production and distribution in Vanuatu. In the political arena, the inherited parliamentary model from the West continues to operate without significant structural alteration. No attempt has been made by Lini to share power with his Melanesian compatriots in the opposition parties. The consultative grass-roots mechanism of party organization embodied in the practices of the ruling Vanuaaku Pati points to a desire to inform state policy by popular participation. In this respect, the Vanuaaku Pati can claim that its practice of Melanesian Socialism points to grass-roots government through party organization. Yet nothing has yet been put forth about the party institution and its form (one-party versus multi-party) in relation to institutional politics of Melanesian Socialism. As it is set forth in the Vanuaaku Pati constitution, the party's decisions are the preeminent and paramount guide to government policy. There have been several crises and schismatic divisions in the Vanuaaku Pati about the obligation of the government to follow the directives of the party. Prime Minister Lini, himself, has been repeatedly accused of dictatorial leadership



because of his periodic refusal to follow party decisions and directives. In part, much of this problem stems from a failure of the Vanuaaku Pati to engage in a critical evaluation of the institutional structures that are congruent with the broad doctrines embodied in Melanesian Socialism.

How does Melanesian Socialism relate the polity to society? In Marxist socialism, the answer is expressed in a general theory; these relationships are set forth: property relations determine political structure and class relations. Like any ideological system, such as capitalism or Marxism, Melanesian Socialism must propound some theory about the connections between various aspects of social structure. In doing so, it also needs to state its theory of social change to indicate how it proposes to alter the social order to attain its objectives. Marxism, like capitalism, identifies certain underlying forces such as profit or class conflict as the features that catalyze historical change. How do things happen in the Melanesian Socialist cosmological order? What are the levers of change and how do they operate? If these vital missing components are not specified, it does not mean that the proponents have yet to develop these ideas. It is clear, however, that unless quick attention is paid to these questions, the detractors of Melanesian Socialism can easily draw their own conclusions about the ideological authenticity of Melanesian Socialism and even the sincerity and intellectual powers of its proponents. For instance, the five-year Development Plan released by the Vanuaaku Pati government has led one analyst to describe it as "common place capitalist development" belying the socialist claims of the Lini regime.<sup>39</sup>

As an ideological structure, then, Melanesian Socialism is underdeveloped. At this point in its evolution, there is no reason to condemn it with finality. Conceivably, its adherents are still talking and thinking about it. No living ideology comes into the world fully developed and ready for delivery. On the anvil of challenge and experience its details can creatively evolve. A few simple ideas can offer a nucleus of beliefs, serving as takeoff points to further growth and progressive development over time into a more complete and comprehensive edifice of faith. It is in this sense that one can call Melanesian Socialism an ideology, albeit an incipient ideology. Clearly, fast action is needed lest the actions of the Vanuaaku-led government flounder without ideological direction.

Melanesian Socialism, even in its rudimentary doctrinal form and in its inconsistencies, serves many salutary purposes. Hurt by colonialism, diverted from ancient moorings, and humiliated by alien intrusion, the ni-Vanuatu need an assertive palliative to view the past, to restore their confidence, and to chart a new course. Melanesian Socialism explains

Vanuatu's poverty and dependence in terms of European colonial practices. It supplies a salve for a deep wound inflicted by alien domination and a convincing explanation of the current state of affairs. Further, an independent state needs unity and a common identity to attain its objectives of economic development. Traditional precolonial Melanesia, including the Vanuatu archipelago, was riven by internal interclan, interethnic, and interisland dissension and strife. In postindependence Vanuatu, some mechanism is required to facilitate unity. Melanesian Socialism is nationalist in scope, drawing ni-Vanuatu together by its mythology of the past and its vision of the future. All ideologies that have succeeded in crisis situations do this. They rewrite and reinterpret history in contemplation of contemporary needs. Melanesian Socialism under the charismatic Lini, backed up by his grassroots-based Vanuaaku Pati, organizes the perceptions, emotions, and energies of the ni-Vanuatu toward common nationalist goals. Vanuatu, like nearly all states in the Third World, needs to unite to survive. Melanesian Socialism offers visions of a new unity over the entrenched traditional mosaic of rival clans and divergent cultures.

## NOTES

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25. *Islands Business* 9, no. 9 (1983): 36. There are some indications that Lini may realign his relations away from Britain and more favorably toward France. See "Lini Speaks Out in Plain Language," *Pacific Islands Monthly*, April 1986, 17.
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## EDITOR'S FORUM

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### HAWAII AND THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT: THREE CASES ON LAW, HISTORY, AND THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

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Histories of the Pacific islands have been written with a disciplinary bias in favor of political, administrative, and diplomatic processes and events. To a large extent, such bias has established colonial history as a permanent part of the Pacific island historiographical landscape. Quite often, however, such endeavors overlook the role of the judicial system in fashioning and legitimating metropolitan policies toward their respective Pacific island dependencies. The courts, as passive agents of authority, exercise an independent power in structuring the administrative apparatus through which political power must operate. What is especially peculiar about the judicial process is how the courts interpret historical evidence in reaching important conclusions of law.

Among the more important aspects of twentieth-century history in Hawaii is the role of the federal courts in adjudicating cases of profound constitutional importance. In deciding such cases, the federal judiciary is often compelled to pass upon historical evidence introduced by the disputants. Quite often "law office history," as it has been termed, has been deliberately calculated to win cases rather than to merely articulate orthodox history.<sup>1</sup> To be certain, history has often been used as a legal argument by the courts to aid in shaping policies of general importance.<sup>2</sup> It is the purpose of this essay to analyze the use of history in three cases of constitutional and historical importance to Hawaii. The three

cases—*Mankichi v. Hawaii* (1903), *Duncan v. Kahanamoku* (1946), and *United States v. Fullard-Leo* (1946)—were tried originally in Hawaii and reviewed in the United States Supreme Court, representing issues having considerable consequences for the islands and its people.

### *Mankichi v. Hawaii* (1903)

The 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the subsequent 1898 annexation of the islands to the United States marked the formal extension of American rule into the Pacific islands. The acquisition of insular territories, though initially resisted in the United States Congress, proved to be both a novel and confusing constitutional issue. Though Congress had appropriate authority to acquire new territories, the Constitution did not specify the exact manner in which such areas should be governed. In 1900, Congress passed the Organic Act, which reorganized the government of the once independent and sovereign islands. The act itself attempted, in part, to balance the desire for legal continuity with the necessity of conforming the governance of the islands to the new constitutional order. As in almost all such circumstances, ambiguities in the law provided opportunities for legal challenges and judicial intervention. In 1899, Osaki Mankichi was arrested and charged with murder. He was subsequently tried and found guilty of the lesser offense of manslaughter under the laws of the Republic of Hawaii (1894–1898), which did not require indictment by a grand jury nor conviction by a unanimous twelve-member jury. He thereupon petitioned to a federal district court for a writ of habeas corpus on the grounds that his indictment and conviction under Hawaii municipal law then in effect violated the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Amendments of the United States Constitution.<sup>3</sup> More specifically, Mankichi alleged that the federal Constitution was in force during the judicial proceedings in question and therefore applied in his case. In support of his allegation, the Newlands Resolution of Annexation (1898) was cited as authority: “The municipal legislation of the Hawaiian Islands . . . not inconsistent with this Resolution nor contrary to the Constitution of the . . . United States shall remain in force until the Congress of the United States shall otherwise determine.”<sup>4</sup>

The federal trial court ruled in favor of Mankichi on the following grounds. First, the challenged municipal law was inconsistent with the relevant constitutional amendments. Second, the Newlands Resolution by operation of its own provisions abrogated such challenged procedures. In so ruling, Judge Estee made the following observations:

. . . the Constitution came with the annexation and became ever since the supreme law of this territory. This is of paramount interest to the people of this territory, as it secures to all the equal protection of life, liberty and property, which are fundamental rights, and chief among which is the trial by jury. . . . It is fallacious to attempt to limit the force of the Constitution in this territory, or in view of the clear intent of the Resolution of Annexation, to curtail the constitutional rights of the citizen. The pointing out to the people, as the Supreme Court of the territory has done, that the Constitution "is not here in all its fullness," without stating what parts are not here, simply befogs the question; and the argument of the Assistant Attorney General of the territory that trial by jury is not one of the fundamental propositions of the Constitution is contrary to the settled opinions of such illustrious jurists as Marshall, Story and Kent, and also of the leading American statesmen who assisted in framing those Amendments of the Constitution.<sup>5</sup>

The court, in other words, chose to recognize citizenship as the fulcrum of the ultimate constitutional questions in the case. The territory appealed directly to the United States Supreme Court. The justices of the Court disagreed with the trial judge. Justice Brown, writing the majority opinion, felt compelled to make a few historical observations in the process of reaching a decision.

In fixing upon the proper construction to be given to this [Newlands] resolution, it is important to bear in mind the history and condition of the islands prior to their annexation by Congress. Since 1847 they had enjoyed the blessings of civilized government, and a system of jurisprudence modeled largely upon the common law of England and the United States. Though lying in the tropical zone, the salubrity of their climate and the fertility of their soil had attracted thither large numbers of people from Europe and America, who brought with them political ideas and traditions which, about sixty years ago, found expression in the adoption of a code of laws appropriate to their new conditions. Churches were founded, schools opened, courts of justice established, and the civil and criminal laws administered upon substantially the same principles which prevailed in the two countries from which most of the immigrants had come.<sup>6</sup>



In proceeding to the status of the Republic of Hawaii in the two-year interim between formal annexation in 1898 and the enactment of the Organic Act, the Court declared:

. . . it [the Republic of Hawaii] was an independent nation, exercising all the powers and prerogatives of complete sovereignty. It certainly could not have anticipated that, in dealing with another independent nation, and yielding up its sovereignty, it had denuded itself, by a negative pregnant, of all power of enforcing its criminal laws according to the methods which had been in vogue for sixty years, and was adopting a new procedure for which it had had no opportunity of making preparation.<sup>7</sup>

In the reasoning of the Court, Hawaiian municipal law remained in force until the actual enactment of the Organic Act and the Newlands Resolution was intended to be "temporary and to give time to the Republic to adapt itself to such form of territorial government as should afterwards be adopted in its organic act."<sup>8</sup> The Court's interpretation of the Newlands Resolution itself was significant.

The main objects of the resolution were, 1st, to accept the cession of the islands theretofore made by the Republic of Hawaii, and to annex the same "as a part of the territory of the United States, and subject to the sovereign dominion thereof;" 2d, to abolish all existing treaties with various nations, and to recognize only treaties between the United States and such foreign nations; 3d, to continue the existing laws and customs regulations, so far as they were not inconsistent with the resolution, or contrary to the Constitution, until Congress should otherwise determine.<sup>9</sup>

Since the *Mankichi* decision rested upon judicial interpretation of the Newlands Resolution, the Court did not find it necessary to discuss similar constitutional issues that were raised in the *Insular Tariff Cases* with respect to the applicability of the Constitution to the overseas territories of the United States.<sup>10</sup>

### *Duncan v. Kahanamoku* (1946)

During the course of World War II, another case of constitutional importance emerged, similar though distinguishable. On February 24,

1944, Lloyd C. Duncan, a civilian shipfitter employed at Pearl Harbor, embroiled himself in a quarrel with Marine sentries. Duncan was subsequently tried and convicted by a military Provost Court constituted by the military governor of Hawaii under then existing martial law. Less than a month later, Duncan petitioned the United States District Court for a writ of habeas corpus, alleging that his trial and conviction were unconstitutional because martial law was not in lawful existence since there was no demonstrable necessity for the trial of civilians in military courts.<sup>11</sup> The Department of Justice, in reply to the petition, alleged that although the federal and territorial courts were functioning adequately, a continued state of martial law existed in Hawaii warranting the suspension of habeas corpus and that since the Pearl Harbor attack, public safety required the continuance of martial law.

The *Duncan* and companion cases represented considerably more at stake than merely the constitutional rights of the complainants. The scope and depth of the controversy involved several contending political interests. The territory's civilian administration deeply resented the military government's refusal to release certain areas of political jurisdiction to the territorial government. The Hawaii Bar Association, likewise, strongly opposed military rule based on constitutional grounds as well as the continued curtailment of jurisdiction of the civilian courts.<sup>12</sup> During the initial stages of the *Duncan* case, Judge Metzger was subjected to personal harassment, "being repeatedly disturbed by telephone calls during dinnertime and until late into the night" impugning his loyalty.<sup>13</sup> In deciding the fundamental issue, Judge Metzger made several findings of fact favorable to Duncan and others similarly situated. First, the military based its authority for martial law on Section 67 of Hawaii's Organic Act, which stated in relevant part:

That the Governor shall be responsible for the faithful execution of the laws of the United States and of the Territory of Hawaii within said Territory, and whenever it becomes necessary he may call upon the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States in the Territory of Hawaii, or summon . . . the militia of the Territory to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection, or rebellion in said Territory, and he may, in case of rebellion or invasion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, suspend the writ of habeas corpus, or place the Territory, or any part thereof, under martial law until communication can be had with the President and his decision thereon be made known.<sup>14</sup>

The hearing on the matter had several illustrious witnesses which demonstrated the nature and scope of interests. Governor Stainback testified that shortly after August 17, 1942, he conferred with military authorities about the possibility of discontinuing martial law, particularly the suspension of habeas corpus. Stainback was of the emphatic opinion that the strategic situation of the islands did not warrant the continuation of military rule, though perhaps a "modified form of martial law" should remain in effect.<sup>15</sup> Lieutenant General Robert Richardson, the military governor—with Fleet Admiral Chester Nimitz, Commander in Chief of American Pacific forces, in agreement—testified that he "should have control over the civilian population in this area as well as the armed forces and have full authority to establish and control courts for enforcing his order relating to certain civilian acts and conduct."<sup>16</sup> Richardson, moreover, asserted that in his opinion ". . . Hawaii is and has been continuously since December 7, 1941, in imminent and constant danger of attack by Japanese agencies of warfare."<sup>17</sup> Though Richardson's reference to attack by "Japanese agencies of warfare" was cryptic, it was later seen that it was an indirect reference to the presence of both alien and citizen Japanese then residing in the islands. Finally, the trial court made the following observations:

If the present laws do not give the Nation the fullest desirable protection against subversive or suspicious Japanese aliens, or even native-born persons of alien parentage, and such fact is known to the Army or Navy organizations, clearly it is the duty of such organizations to ask for legislative curb and procedure instead of insisting upon holding by force of arms an entire population under a form of helpless and unappealable subjugation called martial law or military government, under the reasoning of Army or Navy officers that such form of government is required, or is convenient to them.<sup>18</sup>

Judge Metzger was not persuaded by the testimony of the military witnesses and ruled that such opinions should not control the applicable laws of the land. Significantly, the court held that the War Department did not have the lawful power to delegate powers of governance rightfully belonging to Congress under the Constitution. The government appealed to the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. During the course of the controversy, the issue of martial law had been debated in legal journals. Territorial Attorney General J. Garner Anthony had written two law review articles against the propriety of martial law in

Hawaii.<sup>19</sup> Charles Fairman of Stanford University Law School argued that martial law was justified on the basis of both statutory and constitutional law. After a lengthy legal analysis on martial law, Fairman made a few comments on the practical necessity of martial law in Hawaii:

Certainly no one will suppose that all the Nisei are disloyal to the United States. It would be fanciful to suppose that the opposite is true. . . .

The Japanese, including most of the Japanese Americans, have lived among us without becoming a part of us. This is not to be charged to them as fault. Fundamental differences in mores have made them inscrutable to us. Because of the absence of that frank interchange by which human personality is revealed, the Nisei have remained largely unknown to their fellow citizens.<sup>20</sup>

Such arguments, whether derived directly from Fairman or not, became persuasive on appeal. The San Francisco appeals court accepted the military's perception of the domestic situation in the islands in juxtaposition with the Pacific war.

We need comment but briefly on the dangers inherent in the Hawaiian situation or the military importance of this exposed area. The Islands form a key outpost in the nation's Western bastion of defense. As is now known, the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor was so devastating and the destruction wrought so nearly complete as to put the Islands in peril of actual seizure by the task forces of a powerful and determined enemy. While immediate steps were taken to convert Hawaii into a fortress, and while the Japanese ultimately met with vigorous opposition in other parts of the Pacific, the perils which beset this strategic area did not vanish overnight. It is the opinion of responsible military and naval authorities that as late as the spring of 1944 the islands continued in imminent danger from the air, of submarine forays and commando raids from the sea.<sup>21</sup>

Most importantly, the court accepted the military's perception of the alien and citizen Japanese presence in the islands and set aside the trial court's conclusion on the matter.



Governmental and military problems alike were complicated by the presence in the Territory of tens of thousands of citizens of Japanese ancestry besides large numbers of aliens of the same race. Obviously the presence of so many inhabitants of doubtful loyalty posed a continuing threat to public security. Among these people, the personnel of clandestine landing parties might mingle freely, without detection. Thus was afforded ideal cover for the activities of the saboteur and the spy. In sum, the situation was such that informed leadership would be answerable at the bar of history if it presumed to take unnecessary chances.<sup>22</sup>

The court noted further that since there was a high percentage of Japanese eligible to serve on juries and since they could not be lawfully excluded from jury service, such a situation "might well constitute an invitation to disorder as well as an interference with the vital business of the moment."<sup>23</sup>

The appellate court did, however, make some important and perhaps complicating conclusions of law. In interpreting the portions of the Organic Act that authorized martial law, the judges concluded that since Congress had adopted verbatim a similar provision contained in the Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii, judicial deference should be given similar interpretation made by the local courts with respect to that same provision in the island Constitution. More specifically, the appellate court relied upon a previous Hawaii Supreme Court decision, *In re Kalaniana'ole*.<sup>24</sup> In that case, Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole was tried and convicted of treasonous acts against the government by a military commission constituted under martial law. Upon application for a writ of habeas corpus to the Hawaii Supreme Court, it was alleged that the judicial proceedings were void on the grounds that martial law did not lawfully exist. The republic's Supreme Court ruled that in view of the "local insurrection" martial law was validly declared and that the military commission was appropriately constituted to preside over Kuhio's trial. Under such circumstances, the appeals court held that the *Kalaniana'ole* decision was controlling with respect to a similarly worded provision of the Organic Act. The court, furthermore, ruled that the military government in Hawaii required a forum to enforce its orders since civilian courts were not empowered to do so in the absence of congressional legislation. The *Duncan* case was appealed to the Supreme Court. The issue framed before the Court was: "Did the Organic Act during the period of martial law give the armed forces power to supplant all civilian laws and to substitute military for judicial trials under

the conditions that existed in Hawaii at the time these petitioners were tried.”<sup>25</sup>

Justice Black delivered the majority opinion and in one succinct sentence said that “. . . Hawaii since annexation has been held by and loyal to the United States.”<sup>26</sup> In his concurring opinion, Justice Murphy elaborated:

The implication apparently is that persons of Japanese descent, including those of American background and training, are of such doubtful loyalty as a group as to constitute a menace justifying the denial of the procedural rights of accused persons in Hawaii. It is also implied that persons of Japanese descent are unfit for jury duty in Hawaii and that the problems arising when they serve on juries are so great as to warrant dispensing with the entire jury system in Hawaii if the military so desires. The lack of any factual or logical basis for such implications is clear. It is a known fact that there have been no recorded acts of sabotage or fifth column activities by persons of Japanese descent in Hawaii either on or subsequent to December 7, 1941.<sup>27</sup>

Since the Court chose to focus its inquiry on the relevant portions of the Organic Act, it turned its attention to the circuit court's interpretation of the *Kalaniana'ole* decision. The Court accepted the lower court's construction of the subject statutory language, but made an important distinction.

When Congress passed the Organic Act it simply enacted the applicable language of the Hawaiian Constitution and with it the interpretation of that language by the Hawaiian Supreme Court.

In disposing of this argument we wish to point out at the outset that even had Congress intended the decision of the *Kalaniana'ole* case to become part of the Organic Act, that case did not go so far as to authorize military trials of the petitioners for these reasons. There the defendants were insurrectionists taking part in the very uprising which the military was to suppress, while here the petitioners had no connection with any organized resistance to the armed forces or the established government. If, on the other hand, we should take the *Kalaniana'ole* case to authorize the complete supplanting of the courts by mil-

itary tribunals we are certain that Congress did not wish to make that case part of the Organic Act.<sup>28</sup>

Though there was controlling precedent in *Ex parte Milligan*<sup>29</sup> that would have sustained the appeals court's decision, the Supreme Court felt reluctant to apply the controversial Civil War decision to the *Duncan* case. Indeed, the *Milligan* decision had been under considerable attack by legal scholars questioning its constitutional vitality.<sup>30</sup> In concluding the controversial case, Justice Black made an important declaration of law and policy:

It follows that civilians in Hawaii are entitled to the constitutional guarantee of a fair trial to the same extent as those who live in any part of our country. We are aware that conditions peculiar to Hawaii might imperatively demand extraordinarily speedy and effective measures in the event of actual or threatened invasion. . . . Extraordinary measures in Hawaii, however necessary, are not supportable on the mistaken premise that Hawaiian inhabitants are less entitled to constitutional protection than others. For here Congress did not in the Organic Act exercise whatever power it might have had to limit the application of the Constitution [citation omitted]. The people of Hawaii are therefore entitled to constitutional protection to the same extent as the inhabitants of the 48 states.<sup>31</sup>

The Court concluded that the *Kalaniana'ole* case did not give the military the authority to try civilians in military tribunals and that for purposes of martial law Hawaii could not be differentiated from the other states in the Union. In a post-*Duncan* article, J. Garner Anthony commented:

It will probably be years before the historian of the future can clearly appraise the motives and causes that led the Army to pursue the course it did in Hawaii. It is inconceivable that those in high places in the War Department were not cognizant of the fact that the regime erected in Hawaii superceding the civil government was not only illegal but contrary to our most cherished traditions of the supremacy of the law. It is readily understandable that military personnel not familiar with the mixed peoples of Hawaii should have certain misgivings concerning them. However, the conduct of the populace on De-



ember 7 and thereafter should have put these military doubts at rest. To be sure it took some time for the military authorities to assure themselves that the civil population was all that it seemed—a loyal American community. What is not understandable is why the military government was continued after several years had elapsed and the fears of the most suspicious had been allayed.<sup>32</sup>

### *United States v. Fullard-Leo* (1946)

One of the more lengthy and protracted cases was *United States v. Fullard-Leo*.<sup>33</sup> The controversy arose in 1939 when the U.S. Navy began constructing facilities on Palmyra Island pursuant to congressional authorization. Leslie Fullard-Leo and others contended that the island was held by them in fee simple title. The federal government then filed an action requesting the federal court to declare that Palmyra was federal property.<sup>34</sup> As the petitioners, the Navy contended that the island had become the property of the United States as a result of the Newlands Resolution, whereby the federal government had become the successor in interest to all public lands held by the Republic of Hawaii at the time of annexation.<sup>35</sup> The Fullard-Leos responded, saying that they had acquired good title to the island from the original grantors, Zenas Bent and Johnson Wilkinson. The historical documents indicated that Bent had been authorized to acquire possession of Palmyra in 1862 in the name of Kamehameha IV. The records of the Hawaiian Interior Department indicated further that after acquisition of the island, Bent had made commercial improvements for the *bêche-de-mer* trade. The chain of title from Bent and Wilkinson was clearly documented in the land records with the Fullard-Leos acquiring the land from Henry Cooper for \$15,000 in 1922.

The trial court chose to rule on the legal theory that the putative original grantors had acquired title while the Hawaiian Crown had assumed sovereignty.<sup>36</sup> Hence, the Fullard-Leos had lawful title against all other claims. The government, on the other hand, argued that under international law neither person had secured the occupancy of the island necessary for the perfection of fee title and, alternatively, no actual documentation was produced that could confirm title in either Bent or Wilkinson. The court rejected such arguments, stating that the Hawaiian Crown could acquire sovereignty over Palmyra without necessarily acquiring fee title and that the king had the authority to prescribe the terms of territorial annexation independent of international



law in existence at the time. Since no actual instruments of title existed on the record, the court chose to infer that good title had been secured from the actions and circumstances surrounding the events in question.

Apparently all of their operations were at their own expense, and there is no evidence that they ever considered it necessary or appropriate to procure permission from the King or officers of the Kingdom for their occupancy or acts, or paid or became indebted for any rental, royalty, or share to the King or Kingdom. This is indicative that they claimed this right and that the King recognized a proprietorship in them.

It is probable that the King was influenced more by his ideas of natural law and promptings of justice, than by whatever knowledge he may have possessed of international law. Under the Constitution then in force, he was the supreme Executive Magistrate.<sup>37</sup>

In the end, the court found that although sovereignty now rested with the United States under the terms of the Newlands Resolution, the respondents had fee title to the island since predecessor governments had never questioned or challenged private interest since 1862. The government promptly appealed to the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

In a brief but thorough decision, the appeals court reversed the trial court's ruling. Accepting the lower court's historical findings, the appellate court applied the law of Agency to the facts. The judges concluded that Bent was acting as an agent of the Hawaiian Crown and that his actions therefore served to vest title with the Hawaiian monarchy. As such, the case was remanded to the trial level for further action. On remand, the trial court proceeded to an alternative claim made by the Fullard-Leos based upon the theory of the "lost grant." Under this theory of law, courts recognize that although actual recorded documentation to real property may not have been properly executed or is otherwise lost, the lapse of time may serve to cure such defects.<sup>38</sup> Since the circuit court had ruled that the Hawaiian Kingdom had acquired both title and sovereignty to Palmyra, the district court ruled that the Hawaiian Interior Ministry had granted title back to Bent and Wilkinson after the initial acquisition by the Crown. The court applied the "lost grant" theory as follows.

There is not a scintilla of evidence that the Hawaiian monarchy, the Provisional Government or the Republic of Hawaii at

any time claimed that Palmyra was public land. There is no record evidence that any of those governments ever regarded Palmyra as property. Uncontradicted evidence shows that the claim of private ownership of the island had been continuously maintained through the years to the knowledge of the Department of State, the Department of the Interior and the officers of the United States Navy as well as of the prior governments of Hawaii.<sup>39</sup>

The federal government appealed again to the Ninth Circuit, urging reversal. The appeals court ruled in favor of the Fullard-Leos in a manner having considerable historical and legal significance for Hawaii.

It was the purpose of Congress, as expressed in the Organic Act, to leave the ceded public lands in the control of the Territory to be administered by it for the benefit of its people. There is in this benign program no proper place for advantaging the United States at the expense of the inhabitants on grounds which affront the sense of justice. Nothing occurs to us to be more at war with the policy than the assertion of title by the United States, in doubtful cases, to land long occupied by local inhabitants in good faith under claim of right, more particularly in instances where the occupancy and claim originated long prior to annexation and were acquiesced in by the then Hawaiian government. In such a situation the occupant is entitled to the benefit of every presumption and to have all doubts resolved in its favor.<sup>40</sup>

What was especially remarkable about the circuit court's opinion was judicial recognition of the importance of the Organic Act, not merely from a legal standpoint but as a document of wide-ranging policy on the governance of the islands and its citizens.

The government petitioned the Supreme Court for a writ of *certiorari*, which was subsequently granted. Justice Reed spoke for the majority of the Court.<sup>41</sup>

Before . . . the islands composing the present Territory of Hawaii existed independent from the rest of the world and sovereign as far back as history and local tradition reached. When American Christian missionaries arrived at the islands in 1820, the Hawaiian Civilization merged with that of the rest of the world. At that time the principal islands of the present Territory had been united a few years before into a monarchy under

a strong leader Kamehameha I. Notwithstanding his death, a short time before the coming of the missionaries, the kingdom welded by him from the several island communities continued as a recognized monarchy under his successors until its fall in 1893. A Provisional Government succeeded the monarchy and was in turn followed by the Republic of Hawaii, the foreign governmental authority mentioned in the Congressional Resolution of Annexation as ceding Hawaii to the United States. From Kamehameha I to annexation, Hawaii made steady advances in conforming its laws and economy to the manner of life of other civilized nations of the world.<sup>42</sup>

The Court declared that since the Hawaiian Kingdom possessed a land tenure system similar to Anglo-American practices, the same legal construction could be given.

Kamehameha I, as King and Conqueror, was recognized by Hawaiian law as the sole owner of all feudal tenures. Not too clearly defined large portions of the royal domains were divided among the chiefs by Kamehameha I and his successors and this process of infeudation continued to the lowest class of tenants. This system of tenures created dissatisfaction among the chiefs and people because of the burdens of service and produce that the inferior owed the superior. Consequently, by a series of royal and legislative steps, the King and the House of Nobles and Representatives, provided for a land system which finally resulted in a separation of the lands into the lands of the Government, the Crown and the people.<sup>43</sup>

The Court took judicial notice that the laws of Hawaii prior to annexation became part of the laws of the nation after 1898. While affirming that federal courts should ordinarily "lean heavily" upon the decisions of the Hawaiian courts on matters concerning local laws, the majority stated that the federal judiciary was not thereby bound when such matters concerned interpretations of federal law. Since the "lost grant" theory was recognized by the local courts, such a claim could be forthrightly recognized by the federal judiciary.<sup>44</sup>

### Conclusion

While it may be readily seen that the foregoing cases involved federal interpretations of the 1900 Organic Act and the 1898 Newlands Resolu-

tion, the judicial sense of history added to the logic of the law. Though such interpretations were apt to be one-dimensional or parochial, the use of history reinforced long-held understandings of historical direction and purpose. In declaring new law or affirming old doctrines, the Supreme Court must insist upon the certainty of its reasoning process. Courts are ongoing institutions that from time to time must reinforce the notion that law is contemporaneous with ongoing history.

The world of the judge is relatively unrestrained with respect to the use of history. Lawyers may lose poorly presented cases. But judges win them all. Historians rise and fall in their open society on the basis of the quality of their work. Sanctions against judges for poor opinions, and therefore the poor use of history, are basically a matter of individual standards and sensitivity to colleagues and critics. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court as a whole cannot indulge in historical fabrication without thereby appearing to approve the deterioration of truth as a criterion for communication in public affairs.<sup>45</sup>

The judicial process as analyzed here may be forthrightly considered as a part of the political apparatus of government, especially in matters in which the executive and legislative branches are not competent or are reluctant to act. Unlike the other branches of government, however, the courts must be able to rationalize their decisions with an ostensible sense of fairness and finality.

## NOTES

1. Paul L. Murphy, "Time to Reclaim: The Current Challenge of American Constitutional History," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 69 (October 1963) p. 77.
2. Charles A. Miller, *The Supreme Court and the Uses of History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), p. 195.
3. *In the Matter of Mankichi*, Reports, United States District Court, Hawaii (1902), p. 303.
4. 30 Statutes-at-Large 750 (July 7, 1898).
5. *Mankichi*, op. cit., p. 310.
6. Ibid.
7. 190 U.S. 198, 216 (1902). The Organic Act (31 Statutes-at-Large 141) was enacted pursuant to congressional authority provided under Art. IV, Sec. 3 of the Constitution.
8. Ibid.



9. Ibid. For further comment on Hawaii's territorial status under the Constitution and the Organic Act see Robert M. C. Littler, *The Governance of Hawaii* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1929), pp. 29–63.

10. The *Insular Tariff Cases* consisted of *DeLima v. Bidwell*, 182 U.S. 1 (1901); *Dorr v. U.S.*, 195 U.S. 138 (1904); *Dowell v. U.S.*, 221 U.S. 325 (1911); *Downes v. Bidwell*, 182 U.S. 244 (1901); and *Rasmussen v. U.S.*, 197 U.S. 516 (1905). The *Mankichi* decision was not technically part of this *corpus juris*, though legal historians have included it because of similarly framed issues on the Constitution and its applicability to overseas territories.

11. *Ex parte Duncan*, 66 F.Supp. 976 (D. Hawaii 1944). Two companion cases, *Ex parte Spurlock*, 66 F.Supp. 997 (D. Hawaii 1944) and *Ex parte White*, 66 F.Supp 652 (D. Hawaii 1944), were litigated simultaneously with *Duncan* and involved similar questions of law.

12. Claude McColloch, "Now It Can Be Told: Judge Metzger and the Military," *American Bar Association Journal*, Vol. 35 (May 1949) p. 446.

13. Ibid., 446–447.

14. 48 U.S.C. Sec. 532.

15. *Duncan*, op. cit., 979.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 980.

18. Ibid.

19. Garner Anthony, "Martial Law in Hawaii," *California Law Review*, Vol. 30 (May 1942) pp. 371–396; idem, "Martial Law, Military Government and the Writ of Habeas Corpus," *California Law Review*, Vol. 31 (December 1943) pp. 477–485.

20. Charles Fairman, "The Law of Martial Rule and National Security," *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 48 (June 1942) p. 1301.

21. *Duncan*, 146 F.2d 576, 579–80 (9th Cir. 1944).

22. Ibid., 580.

23. Ibid.

24. 10 Haw. 29 (1895).

25. 327 U.S. 304, 314 (1946).

26. Ibid., 313.

27. Ibid., 334.

28. Ibid., 313.

29. 4 Wall. 2 (1882).

30. John P. Frank, "*Ex Parte Milligan v. The Five Companies: Martial Law in Hawaii*," *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 44 (September 1944) pp. 638–668.

31. 327 U.S. 304, 318–19.

32. J. Garner Anthony, "Hawaiian Martial Law in the Supreme Court," *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 57 (November 1947) pp. 52-53.
33. 331 U.S. 257 (1946).
34. 66 F.Supp. 774, 778 (D. Hawaii 1942).
35. *Ibid.*, 780.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. 331 U.S. 257, 271 (1946).
39. 66 F.Supp. 782, 786 (D. Hawaii 1944).
40. 156 F.2d 756 (9th Cir. 1944).
41. 331 U.S. 257 (1946).
42. *Ibid.*, 261.
43. *Ibid.*, 261.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Miller, *op. cit.*, 177.



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## REVIEWS

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Katharine Luomala, *Hula Ki'i: Hawaiian Puppetry*. Laie: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1984. Pp. 184, 59 illustrations, index. \$24.95

*Reviewed by Adrienne L. Kaeppler, Smithsonian Institution*

In her usual thorough, scholarly manner Katharine Luomala has given us a fascinating and eminently readable account of Hawaiian puppetry. These little-known items of material culture are brought to life with accounts of their uses, as well as with narratives that suggest their philosophical and cultural background.

The book begins with a short introduction in which Luomala presents the historical context for *ki'i* as a category and then goes on to explain how she will use the framework for analyzing persistence and change developed, interestingly enough, by this reviewer. It is particularly daunting to be asked to review a book by one of your influential professors, especially when she uses a framework developed by you, her student. But this is typical of Katharine Luomala. She not only taught her students, but she also felt that she learned from them. Always careful to note if a fact or idea came from an informant, student, or colleague, she does not simply use that idea, but develops it. Thus, in her detailed description of puppets in museum collections she never fails to note if the *ki'i* can be associated with an early voyage or a specific date of collection so that her subsequent analysis of function and use can always be related to specific cultural associations based on time and outside influences—which can be related to the framework for studying persistence and change as “traditional, evolved traditional, and folk.”

A major section of the book (Part 1) is about the puppets themselves.



The ten manipulable wooden figures, four separate heads, two doll-like objects, and a torso comprise the tangible evidence of the *ki'i* complex. These *ki'i* are of two main types: One has a movable head that is inserted into a hollow torso and has separate movable arms manipulated by a string inside the torso. The other is composed of a one-piece head and torso to which arms are attached at the shoulders.

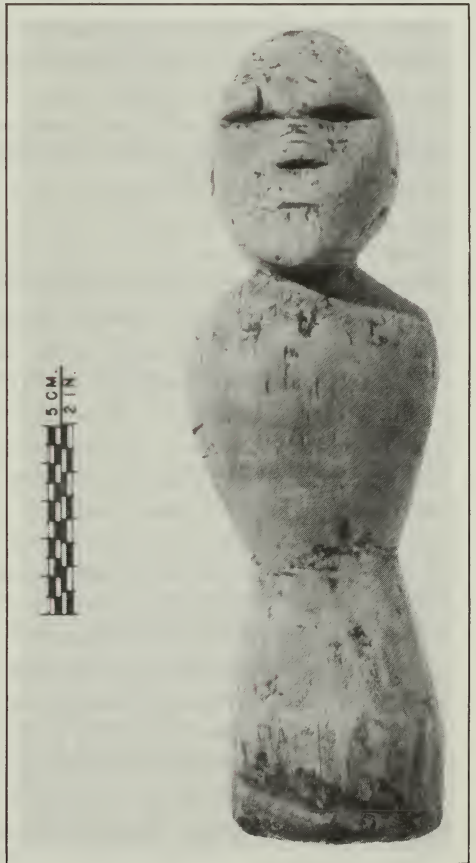
Of the first type, Luomala describes one complete puppet in the British Museum (Museum of Mankind, London), four separate heads, a torso (which she feels is not part of a puppet), and a "folk" version of a separate head. I would like to add another piece that belongs to this category—a separate arm of the same type that is part of the British Museum *ki'i*. This arm, now in the Ulster Museum, Belfast, Northern Ireland (figure 1), was given to the Ulster Museum in 1834 by the Reverend Professor Edgar (Glover n.d. [1986]:25). This flexible, jointless arm of "rushes" is covered with bark cloth (undoubtedly Hawaiian) and has four dogtooth fingers, unlike the British Museum piece, which has six. The 1834 date gives credence to Luomala's supposition that the figure now in the British Museum may have been collected "well before the 1860s" when the Reverend J. G. Wood published it.

Of the second type, Luomala describes nine puppets that were used in nineteenth-century performances. These "folk art" examples are individualized by name but stereotyped according to the roles they played. Such puppets performed behind a screen ("behind" in the sense of a stage apron, not in the sense of an Indonesian shadow play) in plays and as dancers. These performances are described in detail in Part 2 of the book, as are *hula* performed by human dancers in imitation of *ki'i* and modern performances with puppets and in imitation of puppets.

Luomala then goes on to describe "two aberrant Bishop Museum images" described in the Bishop Museum catalog as a "doll" and a "puppet." These were acquired from the S. M. Damon estate in 1921 and from Amy Greenwell in 1973. Because both Damon and Greenwell were well-known Hawaiiana collectors, the attributions as Hawaiian were apparently not questioned by museum workers. Luomala suggests that they "represent carvers' experiments" and she makes it clear that these are not the kind of puppets she is talking about. I would like to add that in my view one or both of these figures are neither puppets nor Hawaiian. If we look beyond Hawai'i, we find that similar figures were used in Alaska as grave markers and in burial caves as shown by documented pieces now in the Smithsonian Institution. One of these (figure 2) is very similar to the Bishop Museum "puppet" (1973.36) from the Greenwell Estate (illustrated on p. 113). The "doll" from the Damon



**FIGURE 1. Above: *Ki'i* arm with four dogtooth fingers. Ulster Museum (catalog number 1910:40). (Photograph by W. Anderson-Porter, courtesy Ulster Museum, Belfast, Northern Ireland.)**



**FIGURE 2. Right: Wooden figure from Kagamil Island of the Four Mountains, Alaska. Smithsonian Institution (catalog number 17446). (Photograph courtesy Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)**

Estate (B2821.H.1, illustrated on p. 112) could also be an Alaskan figure, comparable to those examined in Dorothy Jean Ray's study of Alaskan Eskimo mortuary art (1982). The similarity of the two undocumented Bishop Museum figures to the documented Smithsonian pieces illustrates that the attributions of the two Bishop Museum figures must be questioned. The Damon Estate figure is said to be made of *hau* wood, but unfortunately the estate's trustees would not permit a 1 mm sample of wood to be taken in order to analyze it. The wood of the other figures and puppets is being analyzed and further information will be available.

Part 2 of *Hula Ki'i* focuses on function and performance and demonstrates the Hawaiian reliance on the integral association of verbal and visual modes of expression with emphasis on the verbal. Although Luomala does not put it quite like that, she notes that "verbal devices, not a puppet's physical appearance, clothing, or props, were the puppeteer's—or his drummer-chanter's—major resources, since the little images had limited flexibility" (pp. 71–72). Combing the literature and interviewing living performers enabled Luomala to give a veritable history of Hawaiian puppetry—ranging from an 1820 performance on Kaua'i that Chief Kaumuali'i gave for the missionaries (who pronounced it "folly and vanity") to a 1978 performance at the Prince Lot Hula Festival. In tandem with this history, she illustrates the varied uses of *hula ki'i* from the traditional *kaona* of sexual meaning to Punch and Judy shows. Much of this was European-inspired and Luomala concludes that *hula ki'i* "was one of the native forms of entertainment that was adapted to the changing culture of the islands" (p. 138).

Part 2, as well as Part 3, demonstrate Luomala's unique knowledge of the Hawaiian literature. In Part 3 she recounts an array of various narratives and legendary accounts about images imitating people and concludes that they illustrate that Hawaiians "integrated the concept of human-like images that can be made to simulate the behavior of real people. . . . With so many notions of images present in reality and in fiction . . . it is likely that the idea of making manipulable puppets for entertainment occurred to someone" (p. 167). Especially interesting to me is that the images can be called *ki'i ho'opunipuni*, "deceptive images" (p. 141). *Puni*, however, can also mean controlled, which in my view could have something to do with *ki'i* used on *heiau*. That is, they could be controlled by a *kahuna* and thereby deceive the populace, an interesting sidelight on traditional religious *ki'i* with movable arms that were not "puppets." Such *ki'i* were illustrated by Choris on Ahu'ena *heiau*. Indeed, if the bark cloth wrappings were let down, the *kahuna*



could conceal himself and manipulate the arms and possibly the head—a suitable prototype for nineteenth-century deception in more narrative form!

Through a tour de force of evidence, Luomala has led us from object, to performance, to legendary background. Though one might wish for more integration of the three parts in a concluding analysis, she does infer this integration in her final summary. A more explicit statement of the interrelationships of verbal and visual modes of expression would also have been useful. But, typically, in true Luomala style, she sparks the imagination, and silently exhorts all of us to use her meticulous research for further analysis.

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Atholl Anderson, ed., *Traditional Fishing in the Pacific: Ethnographical and Archaeological Papers from the 15th Pacific Science Congress*. Pacific Anthropological Records No. 37. Honolulu: Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1986. Pp. xi, 213. \$21.00.

*Reviewed by Patrick V. Kirch, The Burke Museum, University of Washington*

Despite being an old theme in Oceanic anthropology, the study of traditional fishing has never been more active or innovative than in the past decade, witnessed by this significant collection of thirteen essays authored both by archaeologists and ethnographers. Approaches to traditional fishing have come a long way from the days of Sir Peter Buck, when anthropologists rarely looked beyond the point of a fishhook. Indeed, typological analyses dominated archaeological studies of Oceanic fishing until quite recently. Thus, it is all the more revealing that only one paper in this volume (by Bell, Specht, and Hain) specifically addresses fishhook form and classification, focusing on a polymorphic



assemblage of composite hooks from the Solomon Islands. But even these authors conclude their essay with the admonition that "it is now time to look beyond the reef" (p. 57). Most of their colleagues have already taken that advice to heart.

Most of the papers in this volume were originally presented at a symposium, organized by the editor, in the 15th Pacific Science Congress held in February 1983 in Dunedin, New Zealand. In organizing them for publication, Anderson divided the papers into two groups, dealing with the tropical and temperate parts of the Pacific respectively. While there are some important differences between tropical and temperate fisheries, this division superficially masks some interesting similarities, at least in research orientation. For example, both Swadling and Nichol, in their studies of prehistoric shellfish exploitation in the tropical Reef Islands and temperate New Zealand, are concerned with the archaeological manifestation of overexploitation. One wishes that Anderson had taken the time to pull together such common themes and interrelationships in a more extended introductory essay to the volume. Nonetheless, he is to be commended for a fine job of editing, and seeing to it that this worthwhile symposium reached the stage of publication.

Given the somewhat acrimonious debate surrounding the subsistence economy of the early Lapita Cultural Complex, stemming largely from Les Groube's 1971 hypothesis that the Lapita adaptation was one of "Oceanic strandloopers," the contributions by Green and Swadling on Lapita fishing and shellfishing are especially welcome. These papers present some of the first detailed archaeological data on Lapita marine exploitation, on which Groube's hypothesis and other propositions may be empirically tested. Green deals with the fishbone assemblage from his important RF-2 site in the Reef Islands, finding the evidence overwhelming for concentration on inshore reef species. Minor benthic and pelagic components are, however, present. Given the dearth of angling gear, Green concludes that the dominant fishing strategies were netting, trapping, and spearing. Swadling deals not only with RF-2, but also sites SZ-8 and RF-6, providing quantitative data on levels of molluscan resource exploitation. To those who have followed the Lapita "strand-looper" debate, her conclusion is significant: that the RF-2 situation "reflects moderate, sustained exploitation such as might occur in a horticultural society exploiting maritime resources to provide a relish for their otherwise bland and starchy food" (p. 146).

The papers by Allen, Chikamori, and Masse all present long archaeological sequences with fishbone faunal suites from south coastal Papua, the Polynesian outlier of Rennell Island, and the Palau archipelago. In

the Motupore site excavated by Allen, fishbone was plentiful while fish-hooks were wholly absent (although *Anadara* net sinkers were common), and he argues that fishing strategies concentrated on netting and perhaps spearing. Chikamori summarizes a two thousand year sequence, with most of the evidence coming from the deeply stratified RE-LC2 rockshelter. The faunal assemblages show a distinct pattern of early emphasis on marine exploitation, including a strong pelagic fishing component. Also noteworthy is the early emphasis on the taking of birds, turtles, and sea mammals, a pattern noted for other Pacific Islands sequences, such as that of Tikopia and the Marquesas. Chikamori argues that after about A.D. 1000 the local fishing pattern changed dramatically, with an emphasis on inshore species exploitation. He sees this as, in part, a reflection of a developing agricultural system. This sequence of substantial change in the history of Rennell Island fishing strategies contrasts markedly with that for Palau. Masse's very extensive Palauan data (2,303 MNI from five site complexes) reveal a remarkable stability in fishing practices from A.D. 700 to 1900. While Chikamori links the Rennell fishing changes to agricultural developments, Masse points out that Palauan fishing remained stable despite dramatic shifts in the nature of Palauan terrestrial economic activities. Together, studies such as these underscore the complexities of Oceanic economic systems, and how much we have yet to learn of the linkages between marine and terrestrial systems.

A further comment on the archaeological papers of Green, Allen, Chikamori, and Masse: there is a growing problem in the standardization of archaeological faunal data, such that direct comparison between cases is frequently impossible. Several authors present their data in the form of MNI (minimum numbers of individuals), although they differ in how MNI are calculated. Chikamori presents his data in gross weights, and thus his data cannot be compared with the MNI suites, nor can inter-taxon comparisons in the Rennell sequence be readily made. Largely due to the efforts of Donald Grayson and his colleagues, North American faunal analysts have moved away from the use of MNI (or weight), and prefer to present primary faunal data in terms of NISP (number of identified specimens). This practice has much to recommend itself to studies of Oceanic faunal assemblages.

Another group of archaeological papers deals with New Zealand situations. Anderson looks at the evidence for selection of fish species in a number of South Island sites, arriving at the conclusion that technology per se was not the constraining factor, but rather insufficient labor to produce or operate the kind of technology that would be necessary to

adequately exploit these temperate fisheries. His contribution should stimulate others to pay greater attention to the role of labor in Oceanic fisheries generally. Till and Blattner explore the potential of using oxygen isotope ratios in shellfish to determine the time of collection (through correlation with seawater temperature), and thus the seasonality of exploitation. They suggest that their preliminary result “demands a re-assessment of current views about seasonality in prehistoric Otago.” Nichols uses a midden sample from Site N44/215 in the Coromandel to address a persistent theme in the New Zealand literature on fishing: that of “stress” and the exploitation of what might normally be considered marginal resources (that is, small fish, less desirable molluscan species). The very small size of his sample makes his conclusions highly tentative, but the article offers some provocative suggestions that deserve to be followed up.

The contributions by Hall, Akimichi, and Severance deal with ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence for the diversity of fishing strategies and, to some extent, offer “cautionary tales” to archaeologists who would reconstruct fishing strategies on the basis of faunal assemblages. Hall’s paper documents a remarkable case of aboriginal-dolphin commensalism, with parallels drawn from a worldwide ethnohistoric search. Akimichi focuses on the concept of “conservation” as this pertains to use of marine resources on the Micronesian atoll of Satawal. His paper is especially useful in documenting some of the complex cognitive, ritual, and political factors that impinge on daily fishing activities. Severance looks at the problem of using contemporary ethnographic data to project fishing strategies into the past, noting several instances of historic innovation and adaptation in the “traditional” fishery of Losap Atoll, Truk. Severance also cautions archaeologists to “consider more than one probable capture strategy and gear” (p. 41) for any particular species when interpreting archaeological assemblages.

The final paper by Akazawa, while presenting an innovative approach to prehistoric regional and “ethnic” diversity in Japan, is somewhat out of place in this volume. Akazawa deals with fishing only peripherally, in that fishing gear is included in his discriminant function analyses of Jomon assemblages.

*Traditional Fishing in the Pacific* is printed and softcover bound in the characteristic style of the Pacific Anthropological Records series, which anthropologists worldwide have come to respect as one of the most important monograph series disseminating primary results of anthropological, and especially archaeological, research in this region. I must conclude this review on a sad note, for almost simultaneously



with Pacific Anthropological Records No. 37, I received word that the series is shortly to be discontinued, a victim of "administrative reorganization" at the Bishop Museum Press. What a pity that this series, which Roger Green and Doug Yen started on a mere shoestring and which has grown to be an internationally respected monographic outlet for Pacific anthropology—as witnessed by volumes such as *Traditional Fishing in the Pacific*—will be terminated. Finding publication outlets for important symposia such as Anderson's from the 15th Pacific Science Congress will be all the more difficult in the future.

Geoffrey M. White and John Kirkpatrick, eds., *Person, Self and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. Pp. vii, 433. \$38.00 hardcover; \$11.95 paper.

*Reviewed by Andrew Strathern, University of Pittsburgh*

It began, in a sense, with Malinowski's dictum about grasping the native point of view, was continued after an interval with ethnoscience, and now burgeons into ethno-whatever-you-like. The discovery that peoples around the world have their own forms of self-understanding seems to have penetrated the minds of anthropologists about the same time as they also realized the need for reflexivity, recognizing that we cannot understand "others" unless we also understand ourselves. This exciting collection of essays contributes greatly to this birth of consciousness. The various contributors make good sense of the handling of social relations in Pacific societies via the people's own theories of "the emotions," and in so doing they establish some important generalizations. More: there is a feeling of liveliness, of "discovery" itself, about the whole book, suggesting both that we are here at a cutting edge of the discipline and that those who are doing the cutting are enjoying themselves.

Probably the one most significant overall point is made by the editors in their thoughtful and balanced introductory review. They begin by noting (p. 4) that questions of meaning of behavior are prior to those of explanation. (Not everyone would accept this view, but it is one to which cultural anthropologists are at the least inclined.) In pursuit of local meanings it is not necessary to deny the possible existence of psychological universals (p. 15), but the latter cannot be assumed to fit exactly with the former. We must, as the authors in the book do, "situate



ideas of personhood, shame, and the like in relation to social organizations and universes of discourse in which they are pertinent to actors" (p. 8). All this corresponds closely enough to ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism. But from it emerges the perspective that whereas in Western discourse we tend to think of emotions as private to the individual, in Pacific cultures discourse focuses instead on emotions as lying in between people, in their relationships. Emotions are not personal, but interpersonal, and therefore become an integral part of the handling of social relations in general. Thus compassion and shame, for example, may not be so much states of feeling in particular persons as "enunciated as shared or generalized in a social network" (p. 11).

Several of the individual contributions to this volume make essentially the same point. It is not just that the emotions are "culturally constructed" and therefore not semantically isomorphic across cultures. Perhaps we may put it as Lutz does in her chapter on Ifaluk, where she says that according to Ifaluk ideas the responsibility for one's internal state lies not with oneself, but with others whose behavior is held to trigger one's own (p. 57). Such a notion operates powerfully in customary law in relation to questions of compensation. It is definitely found in Mount Hagen in Papua New Guinea, where my fieldwork has been done, and is a source of difference in viewpoint between Hagen people and expatriates. Kirkpatrick, in his chapter on the Marquesas, sums up this same perspective by saying that "persons are known in and through interaction," hence the great stress in these cultures on public performances in which "selves" are displayed and social agency is embodied (p. 109).

One of the striking correlates of this viewpoint is that people will deny they know how other people are "feeling." This is another theme that echoes through these essays. At first sight it might appear to deny the point made above. If feelings are not known, is it because they are private and therefore unknowable? Not quite. What the actors mean when they say this is that feelings do not attain an ascertainable reality until they are expressed definitely as action and pointed out as such within the social network. Two examples of how this works can be given.

The first is from Eleanor Gerber's chapter on Samoa, "Rage and Obligation: Samoan Emotion in Conflict." This chapter is particularly interesting, both theoretically and ethnographically, because it bears on the famous Mead/Freeman debate. Mead found that Samoans would not give character sketches of fellow household members, and she concluded that they had little understanding of others' behavior. It turns

out, however, that the Samoans were better philosophical phenomenologists than was Mead. Gerber found that the question had to be rephrased as "Why do you think, in your own mind, that he/she did this?" If one asks "Why did so-and-so do it?" the answer is just "I don't know," because "we cannot know what is in another person's depths" (p. 133). But we can make guesses about it from our own ideas; thus, in a sense, a level of feeling is recognized as private, but knowledge of it can be based on observable action. I was delighted to read this because, again, it can be paralleled *exactly* from both the Highlands areas of Papua New Guinea that I know, Hagen and Pangia. Here we find some, perhaps, unexpected continuities across the Melanesia/Polynesia/Micronesia divisions of the Pacific. And as the essays abundantly demonstrate, such matters are not ethnographically trivial but vitally important.

Exactly the same thing is found in Schieffelin's typically elegant sketch of Kaluli ethnopsychology. First, he chooses to discuss the set of "anger, grief, and shame," which in one way or another underlies many of the accounts of salient emotions in Pacific cultures; so, once more, a kind of comparability emerges across the grain of specificity. And second, he notes that despite the apparent ease with which Kaluli display emotions in interaction, when asked about them they are likely to profess agnosticism: "I don't know. How is one to know how another man feels?" Yet this does not mean that they are actually unable to interpret one another's behavior. It does mean that they are reluctant specifically to attribute emotion to another verbally, because "making speculative attributions about other people's feelings, like spreading misinformation, amounts to spreading mischievous . . . gossip" (p. 174). So the "legal" context comes into play again.

There are nine ethnographic papers in this volume: two on Micronesia (Ifaluk, Tobi), three on Polynesia (Marquesas, Samoa, Hawaii), and four on Melanesia (Kaluli, Bimin-Kuskusmin, Baining, and A'ara in the Solomons). They are clustered under the headings of "Identity, Emotion, and Social Process" and "Person, Deviance and Illness," but in fact continuities run from study to study in much the same way as the studies themselves suggest emotions do in these cultures. At the same time each essay takes up some stance of its own. Catherine Lutz, on Ifaluk, challenges the preconception that an ethnopsychology is to be regarded as a "folk" or "unscientific" picture by comparison with Western psychology. John Kirkpatrick, on the Marquesas, criticizes effectively the label "shame culture" that has been used in earlier work. Like most of the contributors he proposes instead to start from "inside" the culture

and “map some of the coherence Marquesans find in their accounts of human action” (p. 83). Gerber takes a rather different tack. She accepts a panhuman biological basis of affect and attempts to compare Samoan cultural emotions against this substrate (e.g., p. 142). She identifies fear of the father as an internal source of control as well as “shame,” and links this to patterns of violence. Schieffelin stresses the importance of the idea of reciprocity in the dynamic interrelation of the culturally constructed emotions of anger, grief, and shame among the Kaluli. Assertive postures are favored, but they should be in proportion to “loss”; and if anger does not work there may be an appeal instead to compassion by displaying grief. Poole (who seems to have an inexhaustible set of field data and can contribute long essays to almost every symposium) gives a detailed analysis of how children grow into personhood among Bimin-Kuskusmin—a matter of concern to the people themselves, partly because there is a high rate of infant mortality. These people have highly complex gender constructs, and Poole’s discussion here shows the ontogenesis of these.

Peter Black’s chapter on “Ghosts, Gossip, and Suicide” on Tobi island opens the set of papers that focus on deviance and illness. He describes a case history of an apparent attempted suicide and discusses this in relation to the concepts of fear, shame, and anger as motivational constructs in Tobian culture. He argues that whereas the people themselves stress fear of authority as a reason for action, shame as a result of gossip is at least as powerful. He also has a moving discussion of the place of empathy in fieldwork. Karen Ito’s chapter on affective bonds in Hawaii stresses the “affiliative nature of interpersonal relations” (p. 303). Could this have become more a conscious model as native Hawaiians were swamped over time by others? Exchanges of material things are signs of exchanging emotions (p. 307). Self-interest is seen as “retentive” and causing an escalation of hurt feelings and anger between people in conflict. De-escalation can only be achieved by “yielding.” Such traditional ideas have actually been reworked into an explicit technique for conflict resolution by the Hawaiian Cultural Committee (p. 315). Exchanges of apology and forgiveness are made to set relationships right, rather than a “control of deviance” model being applied. This “egalitarian” way of doing things may be a modern Hawaiian phenomenon. In the past, if chiefs were important, they would surely exercise some authoritative control. Geoffrey White, in his chapter on the A’ara, specifically notes changes that have come with the loss of effective chieftainship and ancestor worship. He also analyzes his linguistic data in terms of the well-known dimensions of solidarity/conflict and dominance/submis-



sion, and points out the overall concern for solidarity which the A'ara display. He has some nice ethnography on the portrayal of the character of ancestors here, stressing that they are embodiments of desired cultural values. The "concern" for social relations and perhaps their "vulnerability" (to use a "dead" metaphor from our own Western folk repertoire) shows strongly in the A'ara theories of sickness: "Not only may hostile actions of others, or one's own actions or feelings, make one sick but one may suffer illness directly from social conflict and/or bad feelings among significant others. Thus, it is said that if a husband and wife are continually arguing and fighting, it is likely that their child will suffer persistent illness. Children are regarded as particularly vulnerable to the social causes of illness" (p. 350). (There is every likelihood, indeed, that objectively they *are* vulnerable in this way.) I have quoted this observation in full because of the *deja vu* effect it had on me: once more, it could have been taken out of an article I had written myself about Mount Hagen; the parallel is exact.

The last substantive chapter in the volume is by Jane Fajans on the Baining. Here we find another twist. The Baining seem to be ethno-Radcliffe-Brownians, grounding their descriptions not in terms of personal experience but on aspects of social roles (p. 371). This appears to be rather different from the rest of the peoples discussed in the book. The Baining even have Radcliffe-Brown's "sentiments." But is there a real difference here? These "sentiments" are actually rather like what other contributors speak of as the intersubjective locus of emotion. In substantive, ethnographic terms Fajans's contribution lies in her treatment of shame, and starts from the paradox that Baining say adopted children are their "true" children and they are "ashamed" of their natural children (p. 376): one of those fascinating reversals of what we might think "natural." This claim privileges the "social" against the "natural," and as Fajans points out "shame" occurs when the lower order (nature) intrudes into the higher (culture). Despite this, idiosyncratic behavior "is fairly easily tolerated among the Baining" (p. 384), and there is also a large corpus of narratives about encounters with spirits and how these can make people crazy or sick (pp. 388-392). Looking at these, one begins to wonder about the suppressive areas of Baining culture, a topic which does not come up much in any of the other studies either; but from these one gets the impression that the aim is to "get feelings out," not to suppress them. In turn here, I wonder about historical determinants—as I did with all of the essays generally. The Baining play second string to the Tolai. Do they also hold down their feelings more? If so, this might explain Fajans's view (curiously



paralleling that of Mead, which Gerber negates for Samoa) that "the Baining have very little interest in and curiosity about the behavior of others" (p. 387). One way of keeping their identity might be not to say much. Talking about others is also "trouble," as Schieffelin points out for the Kaluli.

It is customary with these volumes to have a distinguished forerunner write an epilogue. This ritual function is met here by Alan Howard. Elders selected for such a task are allowed to ramble, talk about themselves, and provide historical depth by discussing earlier disputes. Howard gives us Malinowski and Freud (plus Spiro) and Mead versus Freeman again, and comments that none of these have given us the peoples' own views about themselves. He notes the bias in psychiatric models of deficiency in other cultures, which he combated in his study of coping among Hawaiian-Americans. Robert Levy's well-known work on Tahitians is also in this vein. On the concept of the person, he reinforces the conclusion that emerges from all these papers that "the unit of study is persons in relationships rather than persons as discrete entities" (p. 414). Finally, he says that we are only just beginning in this field. Theory and comparison have yet to be crafted. Indeed he describes the essays as "but first shaky steps" (p. 419). Here, I think, the elder is being too severe. The papers already reveal a sophistication that is far beyond the earlier efforts of the culture and personality school. However, I think it is certainly true that explorative studies of this kind should ideally be followed by a phase of hypothesis-making and testing, using such variables as gender, social structure, and history to arrive at generalizations and correlations for further reflection.

Finally a small complaint. Why does no one in the volume refer to Bill Epstein's work on shame in Melanesia? The fact that his work is influenced by Freudian and Jungian psychology should not have deterred the contributors; indeed it would give them a "handle" in terms of contrasting their "ethno-approach" with his. Epstein is certainly in a sense "ancestral" to this type of work and a place should have been reserved for him in it, at least in the essays that specifically focus on the concept of shame. I hope the contributors will not feel that I have said this in order to "shame" them. My query arises from genuine puzzlement about what seems to be an obvious oversight. Perhaps I am also defending my own ancestors here.

John Terrell, *Prehistory in the Pacific Islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. 299, 88 illustrations, 5 tables, bibliography, index. £30 hardback.

*Reviewed by Peter Bellwood, Australian National University*

This book is a welcome new addition to the large and often controversial literature on the origins and prehistory of the peoples of the Pacific, particularly its Melanesian and Polynesian geographical portions. The author, an archaeologist, writes clearly and makes allowance, partly through a careful use of rhetorical questions and the friendly first person plural, for those who may be unfamiliar with some of the subject matter. I think it should be stated clearly, however, that this book does not pretend to give a connected overview of current knowledge of Oceanic prehistory. It is concerned with a number of very specific questions and geographical arenas, and the author uses the ten chapters to argue for his own interpretations on such diverse topics as the peopling of the islands, the origins of the languages of the Pacific, the sources of social inequality, and the causes of biological and cultural diversity.

As Terrell states in his introduction, one of his main themes is that “perhaps nearly all of the presently observable diversity among the Pacific Islanders in custom and possibly even in language and human biology could have arisen locally and gradually over the course of time” (p. xv). This means that migration as a source for any major aspects of biological or cultural variation is ruled out, and the links during the past five thousand years between Oceanic and Island Southeast Asian peoples—which have been stressed as important by many scholars, including this reviewer—are dismissed as either “highly suspect in themselves” or “chance correspondences” in a single paragraph (p. 35). Since I disagree very strongly with this rather offhand dismissal, I feel I should state that I do have personal reservations about many of Terrell’s conclusions. This does not mean that I disagree with the whole book or would not recommend it as worthy reading for any honest scholar with an open mind.

One of the concerns that Terrell reiterates throughout his book is that prehistorians should seek a more scientific and objective approach to their data, via the method of deductive model building and hypothesis testing. Nevertheless, he is honest enough to state, with respect to the past, that “we will probably never be 100 percent right on any question of real complexity and excitement” (p. xiv). Furthermore, he admits (p. 37) that one of his major hypotheses, that of a local development of all the presently-observed biological variation in the western Pacific, is “possibly just as speculative” as a different view that stresses a mixing of two separate populations, one indigenous and one from Island Southeast Asia. Given that Terrell presents such doubts, I am inclined to question whether the intensive model-building approach he favors is going

to revolutionize our search for knowledge about the prehistoric past, and little opportunity is taken in the book to test the many models presented against a Pacific-wide range of hard data. Terrell favors certain of his models for exactly the same reasons as other scholars prefer theirs—they fit his own personal worldview of prehistory.

Let me now summarize the contents. The first chapter sets out the deductive model-building approach, and the second applies it to theories of Oceanic settlement. Does the record support settlement by “pure races,” or slow differentiation through processes of local change and isolation? Terrell prefers the latter, and most modern scholars, including this reviewer, would regard these processes as highly significant. But just how significant? Did all the people of the Pacific really evolve, as Terrell seems to think, from the original human population of western Melanesia solely via the processes of founder effect and genetic drift, with no significant input at all from Island Southeast Asia subsequent to the arrival of those ultimate founders? Have the Papuan and Austronesian languages of western Melanesia separated from a common ancestral group of languages simply through local processes of divergence, as suggested in chapter 3? Or do the Austronesian languages record a much more recent population movement from Indonesia, as virtually all modern linguists believe? I have my own views on these questions, and they differ from Terrell’s quite substantially in that I allow major significance to both human expansion and local differentiation as factors in Pacific prehistory. Terrell, as any reader of this book will soon realize, has taken a fairly entrenched stand in favor of purely internal mechanisms of human diversification.

Chapter 4 is concerned mainly with the settlement of Polynesia, by a population that Terrell regards as derived via the biological founder effect from a nearby Melanesian rather than a Southeast Asian source. The archaeology of this settlement is discussed, and relevant observations on navigational methods and possible reasons for island discovery are listed, again within a framework of a series of models. What is not specified, and cannot be specified owing to a current lack of data, is the range of physical appearances of the inhabitants of eastern Melanesia during the second millennium B.C. Until more skeletal data are available, Terrell’s view is no better than that labeled “the orthodox view,” which derives Polynesians, and a proportion of the eastern Melanesian genotype, mainly from an ancestral population source in Island Southeast Asia.

The later chapters in the book move away from questions of origin and early settlement of the islands to discuss some of the processes that



Terrell regards as important for the evolution of human diversity in the Pacific. In chapter 5 we are shown how small island populations can be very vulnerable to extinction or replacement and how multiple prehistoric settlements on some islands might have occurred. Chapter 6 is devoted to the role of isolation in the production of human diversity; Terrell discusses here the "Black Spot" of dark skin pigmentation in the northern Solomons and returns to the inevitable Polynesians to demonstrate that all physical variation in the Pacific is self-generated.

In chapter 7 Terrell approaches the question of adaptive change in a situation of geographical diversity, focusing mainly on the islands of Buka and Bougainville in the northern Solomons. Bougainville is here regarded as a microcosm of human diversity, generated through processes akin to adaptation and natural selection. Terrell favors a biological style of terminology throughout the book, in accord with much current interpretation in Oceanic prehistory. In general, this choice works well.

The final chapters cover population models and the continuing "big man versus chief" debate in the Melanesian-Polynesian context. A very lengthy and somewhat inconclusive discussion of the origins of chiefship in Bougainville takes up much of chapter 9, and the final chapter, perhaps the most informative in the book, yields conclusions under the general heading of "Science and Prehistory."

Given that this is not a straightforward book on Pacific prehistory for a general reader, Terrell's approach, which is to focus on small-scale situations to illustrate his preferred processes of diversification, must be classed as successful. However, although he is often eager to castigate others for what he describes as their "preconceptions and unexamined prejudices" (p. 242), there can be little doubt that even he falls prey to the same human weaknesses. His favored hypothesis in favor of an entirely local evolution of diversity in Oceania, produced solely from a western Melanesian founder population of 30,000 to 50,000 years ago (p. 244), is not supported by any consideration of Pacific-wide factual evidence, and a good deal of evidence against this view is totally ignored. Indeed, the book presents very few actual *data*, particularly from the highly relevant disciplines of linguistics and biological anthropology from which Terrell generates many of his models.

Apart from my disagreement with Terrell on the points I have raised in this review, I did find many positive points in this book. Many of the case studies on the causes of linguistic, biological, and cultural diversity in individual geographical and cultural circumstances are very well written and, for the most part, very convincing. In reality I probably



disagree with Terrell on very little—those primeval processes of founder effect and random drift, adaptation, selection, diffusion, local population movement, and population replacement have all operated in the past in the domains of language, biology, and culture. They are of extreme importance, and it is perfectly obvious that they still work today, whether we examine our own Western society or those of the ethnographic record. Of course an enormous proportion of the diversity visible in the populations of Oceania was generated within Oceania. But was it all?

Leonard Mason, ed., *Kiribati: A Changing Atoll Culture*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1985. Pp. xxii, 202, maps, photographs, bibliography, index. US\$13.00 hardcover; US\$8.00 paper.

*Reviewed by Max Quanchi, St. Catherine's School, Melbourne, Australia*

The fourteen authors from Kiribati who compiled this collection may justly feel proud of the contribution they have made to the literature of their islands. For providing insight into atoll life that is both readable and enjoyable they will also be thanked by observers eager for coverage of contemporary events in Kiribati; by others attracted by the islands' uniqueness, isolation, and smallness; and by readers with romantic notions of lazy breezes sweeping over a lagoon.

The value of this book goes well beyond the mere listing of its usefulness or potential to attract buyers in Western bookshops. Its publication is a further step in the analysis and reflection by Pacific Islanders about their own culture and history. The Institute of Pacific Studies has played a major role in this development, having previously published *Kiribati: Aspects of History* (1979), *Politics in Kiribati* (1980), *Te Katake* (n.d.; traditional Kiribati songs), and *Iango Mai Kiribati* (1986; Stories from Kiribati) as well as reprinting Harry Maude's *The Evolution of the Gilbertese Boti* (1977). These volumes have been keenly sought by those interested in Kiribati and have added depth to a rather shallow library that had, in the past, relied on the published books of H. E. Maude, Arthur Grimble, Ernest Sabatier, and, more recently, Barrie Macdonald.

*Kiribati: A Changing Atoll Culture* brings the analysis up to the present in an accessible book form, and indeed is directed at considera-

ble length toward predicting which way culture in Kiribati will go in the future. This futures dimension is, to my mind, the greatest value of this work. It brings home in a plainly written, but terse and forceful manner the opinions of fourteen Kiribati writers and how they see the future. The authors come from a variety of backgrounds but appear to form what might be called a Western-educated elite, having in common training or tertiary education gained outside Kiribati and positions as teachers or in government service. They also share a keen sense of their own roots and the issues faced by their nation. Their theme is one of conflict between traditional influences and modern trends. This is too simplistic and at times rather overdone; however, it has a use by making it quite clear that composing songs, dancing, fishing, eating, making decisions, building homes, and going to school are matters requiring serious consideration. At both the national capital on South Tarawa and at the Maneaba level on outlying atolls, these authors show that it often does fall to a choice between modern or traditional ways. This scenario of conflict, and at other times of accommodation, between enculturated and acculturated influences is the major theme that the authors have tackled from their own specialist areas of involvement.

Another simplistic analysis runs through the chapters and that is the related description of life as being centered on either "new" urban, educated, nuclear families or more traditional, rural, subsistence-based families. This is a rather overworked concept but does capture the indecision faced by many Kiribati when it comes to raising infants, choosing a religious creed, speaking and writing, helping or leaving their family, going overseas to work or study, electing leaders, and fishing or farming. These are the topics and the decisions to be made in the future that form the focus points for each of the fifteen chapters.

The final chapter stands on its own, but also serves as a summary of all the themes raised in the earlier chapters. The conclusion focuses on the well-worn concept of "change and continuity" and rather disappointingly relies on a Western concept (or is it jargon?) to declare that "Kiribati now stands at the crossroads." It seems a shame that the commentators were not able to base their analyses in the vernacular, relying on idiom and Kiribati forms. It seems most unsatisfactory for such a book to have a conclusion that relies on an alien and imposed "crossroads" metaphor. Perhaps the promise of this book is that the next publication will break still further away from the convenience of these Western forms.

There is some repetition unavoidable in such a collection. This is more than made up for by the pleasure gained from reading forthright,

straight-from-the-heart opinions. These include one author's declaration of a personal preference for a certain cooked fig paste (*te tangana*). Another is critical of unsuccessful secondary school students who fail to win a place in post-compulsory schooling and become "troublemakers." Another is critical of certain song writers who have forsaken their own language by opting for cheap remakes of "pop" songs and trite Western lyrics. The authors have captured the immediate and personal sense of anger and concern felt by many Kiribati in the face of changes that many feel have passed beyond their control. At the same time this collection of commentaries on contemporary atoll life exudes confidence that the Kiribati are very conscious of changes that have already taken place and of the need to develop policies and practices that will ensure that they retain control of their own destiny.

This is on first appearance a modest collection from a part of the world that outside observers have often not appreciated or understood. Yet by sharing their concerns with the rest of the Pacific and a wider readership, these authors and the Institute of Pacific Studies have done us all a great service. This is a worthy sequel to the pioneering *Kiribati: Aspects of History* and other locally written and published collections. Like its predecessors, it has opened up their own history and culture not only to the people of this scattered atoll nation, but to hopefully a worldwide audience. We are indeed fortunate to now have such an informative insight on the way that Islanders perceive their own atoll culture to be changing.

James G. Peoples, *Island in Trust: Culture Change and Dependence in a Micronesian Economy*. Westview Special Studies. Boulder: Westview Press, 1985. Pp. xii, 187, 15 tables, 3 figures, 4 maps, 9 appendices, bibliography, index. \$22.00 paper.

*Reviewed by Craig J. Severance, University of Hawaii at Hilo*

Over the last decade, a number of anthropologists have struggled to apply dependency theory and related concepts to contemporary cultural transformations in the Pacific. This effort has sought to go beyond notions of "modernization" while gaining a clearer appreciation of both the external and internal influences affecting the processes by which Pacific island communities have become part of the world political and economic system. Sessions on "Dependency" and on "World Systems" held at meetings of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania



have led to a mixed variety of papers and shorter publications. No real consensus appears to have emerged from this effort except perhaps the view that classic "dependency" models need to be modified to fit the Pacific data, at least in the case of the American flag territories where strategic denial rather than economic exploitation has been the colonial power's goal.

Peoples's *Island in Trust* rests squarely in this tradition. It is a balanced, rather than polemical, application of dependency methodology in a detailed economic study of Lelu, Kosrae. This volume is valuable because it derives from dissertation fieldwork designed explicitly to test the dependency approach at the local level. It develops estimates of household incomes and expenditures in an attempt to interpret the impact of external subsidies on subsistence output, labor allocations, and ceremonial consumption. Peoples's choice of Kosrae (formerly Kusaie) is an apt one since Kosrae is a volcanic island in the Eastern Carolines with an adequate subsistence base that has been transformed by the American administration from an administratively isolated island to a subdistrict center and then a state within the Federated States of Micronesia. At the time of Peoples's fieldwork in 1975–1976, the dramatic increase in subsidies that caused this transformation was well under way.

Peoples begins with a brief discussion of dependency theory as an alternative to modernization approaches and summarizes a portion of the relevant literature. He treats dependency as a methodology that should lead one to focus on local historical conditions as well as external forces and to analyze how the interaction (others have used the concept of linkage here) of these forces explains existing economic choices and patterns.

This is followed by a clearly written summary of the rise in wage income in the Trust Territory associated with increasing U.S. subsidies and planned political "development." Peoples estimates that consumption increased 1,000 percent between 1962 and 1977! He presents territory-wide economic data to show that the private sector of the economy represents a form of indirect dependence in a "top-heavy" economy with a declining productive sector and a service sector tied to and dependent upon government employment levels.

The rest of the book shifts to a community-level analysis of Lelu, Kosrae, to show how these general economic patterns interact with the particular historical and cultural conditions in Lelu. Chapter three summarizes what can be reconstructed of the aboriginal political system and shows how the impact of the Christian church led to a more egalitarian



tarian ethic. Chapter four describes the contemporary economy and cultural practices of Kosraean church-centered culture. Two chapters summarize agricultural production, showing that while land is available and subsistence labor inputs are relatively small, at least one-third of the food supply is imported. Nearly a third of all cash is spent on imported foods. A more detailed analysis of the expenditures of a small sample of job-holding and jobless households focuses on labor allocations using time budget analysis. Peoples provisionally concludes that the availability of men's labor time influences consumption patterns so that food imports are substituted for preferred local foods. This is hardly surprising, yet Peoples provides us with a careful argument and supporting data. The next three chapters focus on participation in church affairs and the obligations of kinship, community organizations, and various ceremonials.

Peoples concludes with the argument that the expansion of government-funded services and wage labor has been a "conditioning situation" in which the external inputs interact with the historically created concrete local conditions of kinship obligations, church participation, and ceremonial exchanges to readjust subsistence production and divert much of the cash income into religious and ceremonial expenditure. For Peoples, the utility of the dependency approach lies in its focus on interaction between such local-level conditions and external influences.

*Island in Trust* is a revised version of Peoples's dissertation and the book is structured in that format. Some reviewers might choose to quibble with the size of samples, the extrapolation of income and expenditure estimates, or the admitted lack of landholding data. I was impressed with the amount of detailed economic data presented and with the generally careful and, where necessary, qualified analyses. I found the volume to be a solid contribution to Pacific anthropology and a useful addition to the dependency debate.

Char Miller, ed., *Missions and Missionaries in the Pacific*. Symposium Series, Vol. 14. New York and Toronto: E. Mellen, 1985. Pp. 125. \$19.95

*Reviewed by Ian Breward, Ormond College, Parkville, Victoria, Australia*

In addition to the editor's introduction and essay, James A. Boutilier and Charles W. Forman have each contributed papers first given at a

conference in San Francisco in 1983. It is valuable to have them published in this format and thus more accessible than if they were separated in journals. With only three contributors, this collection does not rank in importance with *Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania* (1978). Nevertheless the stature of the authors and the quality of their articles make this a book that ought to be in libraries and on the shelves of scholars interested in Pacific history, despite a few misprints such as the gap in the quotation on p. 28. A useful bibliography completes the book.

Boutilier's article is a comparative study of the success and failure of missionary efforts in Tahiti, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Samoa, New Caledonia, Kiribati and Tuvalu, the Solomons, and New Guinea. Due recognition is given to the complexity of the variables when the process of "conversion" is examined historically, but particularity does not exclude the possibility of comparison. The article does not add substantially to our knowledge or offer fundamental new perspectives, but it is a very clear and helpful overview for students, with sufficient depth to provoke questions about the role of native evangelists and the "moment" of conversion. More work clearly is needed on the reasons that islanders adopt particular aspects of the Christian message, and the article could usefully have dealt more adequately with the dynamics of leadership.

Miller's article shows the value of reassessing material in the light of findings from other disciplines. His analysis of family life and the impact it was expected to have on the native people is very well done. Likewise he notes that there were influences the other way, especially on missionary children, which soon showed that mission was not a one-way process. The expectations laid on the missionary women proved too much for some to bear. The burdens of domestic chores left little energy for being Christian exemplars, and fatigue made women and children vulnerable to illness. Living out the antebellum restatement of the puritan tradition on women's role and agonizing about the waywardness of teenagers influenced by the islanders was a great strain. Sending children home was a painful dilemma repeated in each successive missionary generation. Miller's analysis takes the discussions of Gunson and earlier historians on missionary families into new territory. He demonstrates how study of family ideals and domestic roles can fruitfully illuminate the issues of cultural interaction.

Forman deals with quite different issues, relating to the fragile economic base of island societies. He explores the way in which some islander communities gained financial independence quite early, compared to indigenous churches in other regions. The LMS and Methodist

missionaries skillfully utilized competitiveness. Yet the institutions and expectations they created have made it almost impossible for the island churches to keep pace with developments in the churches of the sending countries. Ironically it has been the development of the ecumenical movement that has underlined this most poignantly. Developments in cooperation across the vast distances of the Pacific have been beyond the cash resources generated by the rural economies of the Pacific. Mining, industry, and tourism bring their own problems and Forman asks whether the islanders are doomed to marginalization and debt, with the not-so-subtle dependency thus created. Though remarkable progress has been made in many churches, Forman incisively explores the issue with the evocative image of playing catch-up ball. Though intended for historians, his paper also should be read by church administrators and those concerned with development strategies.

In their different ways, each author opens up important directions for further reflection. A cheaper reprint for the use of Pacific island students would be invaluable.

Carl Loeliger and Garry Trompf, eds., *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific and University of Papua New Guinea, 1985. Pp. 186. US\$7.00 (F\$5.00 in Pacific Islands).

*Reviewed by John Barker, University of Washington*

This volume is composed of sixteen studies of various "new religious movements" across Melanesia. Most of the articles were written by students attending the University of Papua New Guinea and some are missionary reports. The studies are grouped into three sections: New Guinea; Papua; and the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Fiji.

This is not a scholarly book, although the editors are professional academics. Many of the chapters lack the sort of orienting material one finds in conventional ethnographic collections: locations and sizes of local populations, social and historical backgrounds of the subjects under study, research methods, and so on. Very few of the authors draw upon the extensive theoretical and comparative literature dealing with religious movements. The authors differ greatly in their research and writing abilities. The best chapters convey a sensitivity for the nuances of the occasions and localities in which people have embraced new religious understandings. But there are also chapters that are so roughly



written and that treat their subjects so superficially that one wonders what purpose is served in publishing them. Given the very diverse nature and circumstances of the different religious movements reviewed in this book, the eclectic approaches and uneven quality of the writing and analysis in each chapter makes for especially difficult reading.

Loeliger and Trompf say that the purpose of the collection is to correct the popular conception of Melanesia as the home of the "curious" and "bizarre" cargo cult: to show both the range of variation within cargo cults and the wider range of religious forms in Melanesia within which cargoism is embedded. This aim, and the aim of providing some sort of framework for the case studies, would certainly have been advanced by a review of the historical and cultural background of new religious movements in the region, but none is attempted. Instead, in the introduction, the editors concentrate on a rather uninteresting discussion of typology. They fail to even mention the most pervasive and understudied of the "new religious movements" in Melanesia—Christianity in its various orthodox guises. This lack of an overview, in combination with the eclectic nature of the collection as a whole, renders the book almost inaccessible to those who do not possess a good knowledge of a wide portion of the Melanesian literature. And this is a shame. For the editors are right: we do need to pay more attention to the variations in religious innovation in Melanesia, especially where cargoism is not involved.

With these limitations in mind, those readers who come to the book with a knowledge of what has previously been written will find much of interest in the collection. The most valuable essays, and best written, concern agitations and reform movements within Christian communities, which have on occasions led to the formation of small, independent sects. Bedero Geno Noga and Timo Ani Kila present studies of two visionaries in the Rigo and Hula areas on the southern coast of Papua who stirred the religious imaginations and passions of factions within their communities, if only for short periods. Meshach Maetoloa examines the careers of two religious innovators on Malaita who were more successful in forming a coherent theology and organization and in attracting followers, eventually forming the Remnant Church. The fate of this sect, like that of many millenarian movements, seems to have rested on the well-being of its leaders. Singoleo Hanson Matas-Kalkot describes an interesting reform movement that began within the Anglican congregations of Pentecost Island in Vanuatu in the 1920s and that thrived long after its founder's death. While reflecting indigenous cultural orientations, the Sila Dan movement called for a much more radi-



cal break with tradition than did the Anglican mission, and built its strength upon intensive bible study sessions in local villages.

Joan Kale's study of a wave of religious excitement that swept through Baptist communities of Kyaka Enga in the New Guinea highlands in the early 1970s is one of the most interesting and carefully considered chapters in the collection. The movement, which involved uncontrolled shaking and visions, was begun and spread by women. It initially received the encouragement of Solomon Islander instructors at the mission's training college, who saw it as a revival similar to one they had experienced in their own country. Kale reviews the origins, spread, and local meaning of the movement in terms of the indigenous culture and the pressures and opportunities of the postcontact situation. She sympathetically portrays it, quite convincingly, as a product of the Kyaka Enga people's attempt to reconcile Christianity with their received moral and cosmological ideas.

Finally, Paula Rokotuiviwa's well-balanced study of the Congregation of the Poor in Suva, Fiji, is of much interest. She chronicles the life and basic teachings of Sekaia T. Loaniceva, a mechanic who, following a series of visions, gave up his property and entered a career of faith healing. At the time of study in the mid-1970s, Loaniceva's church was made up of members of several races in a number of countries who had forsaken their worldly goods upon their conversion. It is hard to imagine a sharper contrast to cargoism! I was reminded, too, as I read this piece, of how little research has been done on religion in Melanesian towns and cities where an increasing proportion of the population now lives.

The remaining eight chapters deal with cargo cults, millenarian movements, and cooperative organizations in the Sepik region, Manam Island, New Hanover, Bougainville Island, and inland southeastern Papua. These present information about several previously undocumented and two documented movements (Irakau of Manam and the "Johnson Cult" of New Hanover). Although these chapters add to the ethnography, they offer few new insights into Melanesian religious movements.

One of the special qualities of this book is that it was written primarily by people who are members of the societies they are investigating and, in some cases, participants in these religious activities. While I doubt that *New Religious Movements in Melanesia* will find its way to many scholars' bookshelves, it should be appreciated as an indication that a new generation of Melanesian scholars is completing its apprenticeship at national universities in the Pacific. These scholars are taking

the study of religious innovation into the somewhat less "exotic" areas of the changes sweeping through Melanesian society that were previously ignored or understudied by expatriate researchers. Their innovative research promises to add much to the discourse on Melanesian realities in the future.

Brenda Johnson Clay, *Mandak Realities: Person and Power in Central New Ireland*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986. Pp. xv, 309, bibliography, index, notes. \$40 cloth.

*Reviewed by James G. Flanagan, University of Southern Mississippi*

A Mandak myth recounts the life of Songalarala, who lived by exchanging sardines, which he caught in great abundance, for taro, produced by the women of the village. Finally, his fellow villagers, motivated by jealousy, banished him. Songalarala's "plight is the vulnerability that accompanies the development and realization of autonomy in individual knowledge and use of power" (p. 293). Clay uses this myth to underscore the theme of her work—the tension between society and individual, between sociality and the autonomous use of power. The use of this power, primarily in sorcery, is seen as a "foil to a common sense world of predictability, a world insufficient for Mandak sociality" (p. 49). Citing Geertz's idea of magic as a "means to certify the common sense world" (p. 36), Clay suggests that the Mandak need magic to relieve the boredom of an otherwise completely predictable universe.

"The Mandak person does not replicate the Western individual in standing ideologically apart from either a 'natural world' or 'society' " (p. 293). A concept of social personhood is employed that encompasses the "relational and autonomous" aspects of Mandak persons. "Persons are delineated both as relational beings formed through human nurturing and as autonomous entities capable of socially significant action" (p. 115). These separate aspects of Mandak personhood are manifest in the emphasis on female nurturance and male competition. "Women are not expected to assert autonomous images for their value is relational, through the growth of clans and the support of life through sustenance" (p. 81). Competition between big men, on the other hand, is "fueled by rumor and gossip, fed by Mandak belief that appearances do not reveal intentions" (p. 92). Thus female nurturance is associated with the development and growth of clans and subclans while male "autonomy" is "based on the premise of an individual capacity for private thought

and self-determined actions" (p. 30). These dichotomies are explored through a series of contexts and domains.

The Mandak inhabit a number of hamlets and villages in central New Ireland and are organized into matrilineal moities, clans, and subclans. Individual nuclear families form the core residential units with men's houses being regularly occupied by unmarried males and by married males during ritual activities (p. 61). While there is evidence of frequent shifts in residence (p. 68), most families live in the subclan hamlets of the male head of household. Relying on fishing and slash and burn cultivation of taro and sweet potatoes for their subsistence, they also hunt wild pig and herd domesticated pigs that are used primarily in ritual contexts of feasting. Mortuary feasts form a vital part of social life. "Feasts dominate Mandak energies, wealth and attention" (p. xi). Gender distinctions, while important, are merely one aspect of social personhood. Age is also an important power differentiator, with the "pattern of deference and control" finding "ideological support in concepts of innate gender contrasts and social maturation with age" (p. 65).

The Mandak universe is "infused with invisible energy" (p. 35), which can be manipulated by individuals. The control of this energy is manifest in sorcery and magic. Everyone over the age of twenty-five knows some spells (p. 39). Sorcery, which is used for the promotion of crop growth, may also be a response to perceived inequalities (p. 41) and as such demands certain Mandak responses that have far-reaching implications for Mandak social interaction. However, not all the power in the universe is available for human manipulation. The Mandak share their universe with a variety of spirits that are "outside human sociality" but who can, on occasion, inhabit humans, as in the case of *erogas* (sing. *egas*), "spirits." The fear of these spirits is associated with the generalized Mandak fear of an "unannounced presence" (p. 51). Thus, human/spirit represents another underlying dichotomy.

Distinctions of gender, power, and substantiality, then, are the background against which Mandak day-to-day social interaction is played out. Normal sociality is manifest in gardening and the production of pigs and wealth. Success in gardening, for the Mandak, is a product of hard work and the successful use of power (p. 88). However, such success must be carefully guarded as it may inspire envy and invite sorcery (p. 92). Gardening activities, under the direction of a manager (p. 83), may be shared with others of the same subclan who will not practice sorcery against their fellow gardeners. Avoidance characterizes the Mandak response to a variety of conflict situations. Possible signs of inequality are hidden behind dissemblance (p. 101), possession of



wealth is hidden through farming out pigs (p. 103), and "expressions of autonomy" (p. 93) are carefully contrived in controlled contexts.

Mortuary feasts provide a "dialectical counterpoint" to daily life (p. 108) and are explored in detail (for example, the extended treatment of the mortuary feast sequence *elokpanga*, pp. 111-244). Here, the distinction is significant between natural death, which occurs when one's "work is finished" (p. 111), and death due to sorcery, the "premature termination of a life still energized" (p. 114). Associated with these rituals are a host of activities necessary for the production of garden crops and the increase of wealth and pig herds. Many of the activities associated with the various stages of planning and hosting a mortuary feast are concerned with the regulation of rain to insure a good harvest and here, both in initiation rites and the hiring of rain magicians, Mandak sociality extends across hamlet and clan lines to encompass a greater polity.

This is not to say that *Mandak Realities* is a flat, synchronous account of Mandak life. Clay is aware of the continuity and change in Mandak existence, especially since the disruptions of World War II. Mandak life is presented as consisting of "alternating sequences of daily dispersed living and more centralized feasting interactions" (p. 247). The segregation of males and females has declined, but while many Mandak activities continue as before, some aspects of the society have disappeared, such as the stronger forms of magic and the ritualized male fishing. Attempts at cooperative cash cropping of copra disintegrated under the centrifugal tendencies of Mandak society (pp. 258ff.).

The penultimate chapter of the book provides a fine contrast with the Usen Barok people recently described by Roy Wagner. Clay focuses on the differences between the traditional aspects of Mandak and Barok big men to account for the cooperative successes of the Barok in the money economy and the attempts and failures of the Mandak.

What, then, is the real argument of *Mandak Realities*? Most anthropologists, after all, would insist that they are describing reality. For Clay, Mandak realities are not available at the level of sensory perceptions. They consist, rather, of a set of underlying principles or premises upon which Mandak construction of reality and behavior depend. Mandak sociability is conducted against or is informed by this underlying set of structural contrasts/contradictions (male/female, spirit/human, everyday/ritual, subsistence/feasting, elder/younger, senior/junior, etc.). While one might attempt to make sense of each of these poles in isolation, a complete picture of Mandak social life can only be presented if one is also aware of how each pole affects the other and how each pair



is played out in other domains. It is not an easy argument to convey and occasionally Clay seems to fall victim to her own discourse. Despite a number of infelicities of expression and a number of minor errors that the editor as well as the author should have caught, *Mandak Realities* does indeed manage to present the reader with an enlightening picture of a society whose members are struggling to assert themselves against the weight of an egalitarian ethos.

David Muir, writer and director, *Road to the Stamping Ground*. Coproduced by Polygon Pictures and RM Arts. An Arts International Presentation, 1984. Color film, 55 minutes.

*Reviewed by T. D. Webb, Smith Library, Brigham Young University—Hawaii Campus*

This film documents the genesis of the modern ballet "Stamping Ground" by world-renowned choreographer Jiri Kylian, who was inspired while witnessing a gathering of Aboriginal dancers on Groote Eylandt off Australia's northern coast. Sponsored by the Aboriginal Cultural Foundation, the event brought together five hundred tribespeople from twenty different localities in Australia to perform traditional dances for each other. Few outsiders were invited, but Kylian was one of them. Struck by the sophistication of the dancers, the choreographer recognized in their movements elements of dance he himself had been struggling to perfect for some time. The first part of the film records some of the Aboriginal dances in all their vitality, along with Kylian's commentary on their choreographic and cultural import. The remainder of the film is devoted primarily to the rehearsals and, finally, a performance of "The Stamping Ground."

The ballet's title comes from Kylian's fascination with the Aborigines' stamping techniques that, though ubiquitous in their dances, are nonetheless variable and quite expressive. Kylian enumerates several other characteristic elements of Aboriginal dance that he sought to incorporate into the repertoire of his dance company, the Nederlands Dans Theater. One such element was countermovement, in which different parts of the body move in opposite directions simultaneously. Another is the fact that Aborigines always dance in groups. The group members draw enthusiasm and stamina from each other, and show a marked absence of competitiveness that, according to Kylian, is quite unlike the West where dancers attempt to outperform each other.

Still another element of Aboriginal dance is each performer's sense of his own abdominal area as the center from which the whole energy of the dance emanates. Each uses the bulk of the stomach to enhance the expressive use of the limbs. Other elements mentioned by Kylian include the Aborigines' phenomenal jumping ability, hand motions that remain expressive despite difficult leg and body movements, and the use of cycles of brief, separate dances to express Aboriginal themes, very often using uncanny imitations of animals.

The film illustrates each of these elements with excellent footage from the Groote Eylandt gathering. The Aborigines move with a dexterity, precision, and energy that are nothing short of elegant. The body decorations are striking, and the music of sharp percussion and droning didgiridoo hypnotic. As the film explains, Aboriginal dance is not art for art's sake, but instead contributes in at least three ways to the cohesion of the tribe and the spiritual well-being of the individual members. First, everyone performs, young and old, thus contributing to the persistence of the group. It is encouraging, in fact, to see many young performers in the film whose presence somewhat mitigates reports of the impending loss of traditional Aboriginal culture. Second, dance serves an educational value for the group, often as a symbolic enactment of tribal laws for younger group members. Third, most Aboriginal art, including dance, is religious and recounts sacred legends of ancestral heroes who lived in the "dreamtime" when the earth was created. As such, dances carry the structural meanings of the tribe. They also mark an individual's progress through stages of religious knowledge.

From this concentrated but compelling bit of instruction, the film moves to Kylian's ballet, allowing the viewer to compare the modern product to its Aboriginal roots. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the ballet is somewhat disappointing in comparison, its innovations no more engrossing and fresh than many other experiments in the dynamic world of modern dance and movement. And although Aboriginal elements are evident, there is an obviously vast difference between the Aboriginal performers and Kylian's company. Such movements take many years to perfect, even for trained dancers, and the expertise of the Aborigines in these techniques is clearly superior.

One is reminded by the film of modern painting and the influence of African masks in the work of Picasso and other visual artists at the beginning of this century. Taken out of context, these forms were often misunderstood by artists, critics, and audiences. According to Maquet, "The first European admirers of 'primitive art' . . . knew little, if anything, of the meaning of these objects in the societies they came from,

and they were not interested. They were interested in the formal qualities of these objects, in the solutions given by their authors to the technical problems of the interrelations of masses and volumes, or in what they believed to be a primeval spirit of strength and freedom" (1971:3).

Ethnocentric interpretations aside, however, the influence of so-called primitive art on Western aesthetics eventually yielded a new awareness for tribal expression that has culminated in an appreciation of these forms as culturally laden productions that can significantly increase our understanding of the societies that produced them. This film makes that same statement with respect to dance. Because of its finely captured images of Aboriginal dance, one hears in this film the admonitions of Kurath, Kaeppler, Merriam, Royce, and others that anthropologists have paid too little attention to dance as a cultural system. A decade ago, Kaeppler chided, "Anthropologists have been slow to recognize that a study and understanding of dance—which is sometimes a very conspicuous part of culture—may actually assist in an understanding of the deep structure of a society and bring new insights into understanding other parts of culture" (1978:32).

The film, then, has several values in addition to that of simply tracing the sources of a modern ballet. The first is its excellent selective documentation of and introduction to Aboriginal dance. Furthermore, it provokes discussion on such varied topics as the cross-cultural applicability of the concepts "art" and "aesthetics," the role of art in society, and the effect of culture contact on style.

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Marc Gumbert, *Neither Justice Nor Reason: A Legal and Anthropological Analysis of Aboriginal Land Rights*. St. Lucia, London, New York: University of Queensland Press, 1984. Pp. 215, figures, diagrams, maps, photographs, bibliography, index.

*Reviewed by Deborah Bird Rose, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies*

In 1976 the Australian Commonwealth took the first formal step toward giving at least some Aboriginal people legal title to at least some of their land. The Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 allows that Aboriginal people may claim to be the "traditional owners" of areas of unalienated crown land in the Northern Territory (NT). In pursuing their claim to land, one of several land councils acts on their behalf to present the claim to the Aboriginal Land Commissioner (a judge of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, appointed to this position for a set period of time). The land commissioner hears the case for claims to the status of "traditional owner"; he also hears evidence from other interested parties who may wish to argue that the granting of Aboriginal freehold title (an unusually secure form of title) may be detrimental to these other interests. His recommendation is given to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and it is the minister who makes the final decision as to whether title will be transferred to the "traditional owners" in the form of a lands trust. To date, no Aboriginal land claim has been wholly rejected either by the land commissioner or by the minister.

Dr. Gumbert is a Sydney barrister who has also completed studies in anthropology. He is thus particularly qualified to examine what has been an unhappy marriage of anthropology and law in the presentation of land claims. At the same time, Gumbert has not been involved as a participant (legal advisor or anthropologist) in any land claims.

*Neither Justice Nor Reason* is directed toward a broad nonspecialist audience. The writing is exceptionally clear. Readers who know very little about any of the main topics—Australia, law, and anthropology—will find enough information included to allow them to engage with the text. Gumbert examines the social and legal underpinnings of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 and the anthropological models of social organization underlying the presentation of claims under the act. In addition, he presents his own alternative model of Australian Aboriginal social organization and tests it against the requirements of the act as well as against evidence presented in a number of land claims.



Since this book was written a number of changes have taken place. The public goodwill toward Aboriginal land rights has faded. As more claims are presented, more precedents accrue. In many instances the precedents appear to further constrict the act. Increasing hostility in the opposition to land claims adds delays and makes claims ever more stressful for the claimants and their associates. The net effect of these changes is that the contradictions inherent in the act are becoming increasingly difficult to ignore.

The book is divided into three parts. The book as a whole has a general introduction and conclusion. Additionally, each part has its own introduction and conclusion. This structure contributes to the clarity with which complex sets of information are handled in a short space. Part 1, "Worlds in Collision," is a historical overview. It provides very brief historical surveys of the European conquest and settlement of the Australian continent, the sources and development of law and legislation in European Australia, and the development of anthropological models in Australia. In this section, and in those following, it is probable that specialists in each field will not be entirely pleased with the amount of generalization required to present a sufficient amount of information in a short space. Given the broad composition of the intended audience, I find these brief surveys to be generally accurate, exceptionally clear, and adequately impartial.

In Part 2, "Paradigm Lost," Gumbert traces the development of the concept of "horde" from its origins in Radcliffe-Brown's 1930-1931 article "The Social Organisation of Australian Tribes" through various modifications and criticism, to its collapse (according to Gumbert) in the land claim process. In this section Gumbert presents his own alternative model of Aboriginal social organization and shows that it is workable within the terms of the act. I suspect that overseas readers may be concerned that Gumbert's information is weighted to support his assertion that anthropology in Australia has been "exceptionally cloistered" (2). Granted that the topic under discussion does not constitute the whole of the discipline, I believe that his assertion in this instance is on target. Indeed, many anthropologists in Australia describe the situation less kindly than does Gumbert.

Part 3 consists of analyses of six Aboriginal Claims to Land.<sup>1</sup> In each case Gumbert provides pertinent contextual information as well as analysis. Each case demonstrates beautifully the uneasy fit between the legal requirements of the act, the anthropologists' models in support of the claimants, and the evidence of the claimants themselves. The inclusion of some of the land commissioner's questions to anthropologists,

and comments on their evidence, gives an illuminating view of the struggle to come to terms with this difficult cross-cultural situation. These brief case studies are fascinating to read and, insofar as I am able to determine (not having been a participant in any of the claims discussed), are well within the range of accuracy required for such brief studies.

With an outline of the book in place, it is now possible to proceed to a more detailed analysis of what I take to be the central theme of the book: the critique of Radcliffe-Brownian models of social organization and the presentation of an alternative model. The essential model to be subjected to critique is that of the patrilineal, patrilocal, exogamous band occupying a discrete bounded unit of territory to which it has exclusive rights. This was the basis of Radcliffe-Brown's "horde" (1930-1931) and, with various amendments and permutations, this model is still granted a fair degree of credence. Gumbert notes several factors that have contributed to the persistence of the model, primarily the fact that Aboriginal people in most parts of Australia were dispossessed of their means of subsistence and their control over territory, and were severely restricted in their movements. Thus, an on-the-ground description and analysis of the social organization of these hunter-gatherers was largely impossible to achieve. Radcliffe-Brown is accurately described as having been "in the worst of all possible worlds. . . . He was an empiricist without the benefit of adequate observation" (65).

The intervening years have seen modifications to the concept of "horde," some of which, in Gumbert's opinion (76), have rendered it essentially meaningless. There have also been some excellent critiques of the concept itself (notably Hiatt 1966). But in the "cloistered" world of Australian anthropology, there have been virtually no clearly innovative approaches to these questions. In fact, the only radical departure to date is that of Fred Myers (1976; 1982; 1986). It is unfortunate that Gumbert did not include Myers's work in his analysis, for he might have been able to carry his own model further. Readers who wish to pursue a more radical approach to understanding an Aboriginal construction of social relationships would do well to consult Myers (1986).

Gumbert's alternative model of social organization (83-92) is based on the concept of "seasonally labile bands recruited pursuant to a wide range of ties" (86). He notes that indigenous terms that specify different *kinds* of rights and responsibilities with respect to land (and associated ritual) do not refer to corporate groups, but rather have a range of referents with varying degrees of social inclusiveness (90). The result, in the organization of daily and ritual life, would have been societies

“comprised [of] cognatic bands in a constant state of re-formation. Each individual was equipped not with a single patrilineal affiliation . . . but rather with a unique configuration of rights and obligations stemming from his relationship to a complex set of sites, individuals, and groups” (91). Gumbert maintains that the idea of a patriline exists as indigenous ideology, but contends that “rights in land circulated throughout the whole community” (91).

In the interaction between anthropology and law that occurs in land claims, models ought not only to be accurate representations of social life; they ought also to be admissible within the terms of the act. Gumbert contends that his alternative model is both more accurate than others and equally admissible. The Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 specifies that “traditional Aboriginal owners . . . means a local descent group” (101; section 3[1] of the act). As the act does not specify unilineality, it is quite possible to argue the case for a cognatic descent group, although the weight of legal precedent and “received wisdom” is not in favor of this approach. What Gumbert contends is that “the whole community” (91) is to be considered to be a group of “traditional owners” within the meaning of the act. Such an approach, apparently feasible in terms of law, would, if successful, enfranchise considerably more people than is currently the case with the highly restricted “horde” variant models that have most frequently been put forward. It is in the context of models of highly exclusive rules for recruitment to land-owning groups that Gumbert argues that the act has failed to provide justice: “Indeed, ruling as it were from the grave, the Radcliffe-Brownian concepts . . . have been the cause of ethnographic inaccuracy and even—since land rights are now, for some, a reality—an injustice” (72).

I have a few specific comments to make before proceeding to a more general critique of the book. Gumbert aligns the Radcliffe-Brown model with colonialism: “there was an homology between the economic and political background of colonialism, and its ideology which crystallized in the Radcliffe-Brown horde” (195). Without locating myself as a supporter of the rigid thinking that came to dominate these issues, I must state that I think Gumbert’s analysis fails to give Radcliffe-Brown and his successors credit for a certain resistance to colonial ideology. It must be remembered that British/Australian ideology during the major period of conquest and settlement depended on the notion of *terra nullius*—the empty continent. That a continent could be both peopled and “empty” posed a contradiction that was addressed by the assertion (still prevalent in Australia) that Aboriginal people did not *own* the land:



that they did not recognize social and geographical boundaries, did not occupy and utilize specific tracts of land, and so forth. The concept of the horde argued forcibly against this ideology. If Radcliffe-Brown was a handservant of colonialism, it was so only in an inverted sense; without colonialism such an emphasis on exclusivity might never have been sustained.

Another point is that of generalization: many, probably most, anthropologists working in Australia have come to realize that it is fundamentally unsound and unjust to try to generalize about all Aboriginal societies. Any particular Aboriginal society may utilize different structural principles in different contexts; societies differ from each other both with respect to their internal organization of context specific principles and with respect to their ideologies of structural principles. Certainly part of the difficulty in refuting the patrilineal horde model is that it clearly fits some aspects of certain social contexts in some parts of Australia. Gumbert's consistent references to "Aboriginal society" reproduce the notion of an undifferentiated other at a time when it is far more important to deconstruct this notion.

Gumbert's model is unlikely ever to be tested against social reality; it is no more falsifiable in that sense than any other model. However, it could be tested in a land claim. If that were to happen, it is quite possible that it would encounter many of the problems the other models have met. How will community be defined? What principles will be brought to bear in defining who is, and who is not, a member of a community? Gumbert contends that social boundaries are "permeable" and that rights are "overlapping and variable" (90-92). Can a European set of laws recognize such flexibility?

This last set of queries brings me to a broader issue that must be addressed. In spite of what the title of the book might be thought to indicate, Gumbert's analysis is fundamentally located within a discourse that privileges law and anthropology. His concern that Aboriginal people obtain justice within the law is passionate and articulate; it is also unreflexive.

To my mind, the lack of justice and reason go deeper than Gumbert suggests. In this review I can only mention a few of the major problems I see. My concern is that Gumbert's work be recognized for what it is not, as well as for what it is. The Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 produces an event in which a European judge (to date all male) decides whether or not a set of Aboriginal people are who they say they are. The Aboriginal people in question must produce for examination and cross-examination an identity that meets the requirements



of an act produced by Europeans. The onus is on Aboriginal people to "prove" their identity according to an alien means of determining truth and falsehood. The possibility exists that their proofs will be found to be inauthentic. In a number of cases some claimants, identified by themselves and by relevant others as persons with rights to and responsibilities for the land in question, have been found *not* to be traditional owners. Their identity, legitimated by every means at their disposal, has not been found to be legitimate in European law (see Gumbert's analysis of the Limmen Bight Land Claim, 188–194). For an Aboriginal claimant, then, authenticity of identity is to be determined not by one's self and one's peers, but by a culturally alien person who decides according to a set of culturally alien principles of testing evidence. Surely neither justice nor reason can be said to prevail under a system that offers "rights" only in the context of its own power to create a discourse of authenticity, to require conformity to that discourse, and to make final determinations on authenticity. It is difficult to conceive of a more cruel and elegant expression of cultural domination.

Anthropologists' role in land claims is increasingly fraught with contradictions. We are commonly thought to have something to say on these matters, as indeed we do (see Michaels 1986 for a superb analysis). But we, too, are required in the interests of a successful claim to confine our evidence to the requirements of the act. We are not in a position to alter the code, only to assist in reproducing and validating it. Certainly most Aboriginal people believe that it is in their best interest to obtain title to land; for people who have been able to maintain close ties to their land, the "carrot" is of extreme social, cultural, psychological, and economic value. The costs of the procedure are only beginning to emerge; the results are by no means all positive.

There are alternative models that are not rewrites of the same oppressive text. The South Australian Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act (19.3.81) allocated a large tract of land to those people (unspecified) who have "interests . . . in accordance with Aboriginal tradition" (also unspecified) (104, n. 7). There is no inherent reason why this model could not be extended, although there would almost certainly be much political opposition to such a proposal.

Having offered a brief exploration of the kinds of issues a reflexive critique raises, I conclude by returning to Gumbert's analysis. *Neither Justice Nor Reason* is excellent for what it is—a conservative, compassionate, lucid, and humanitarian analysis of Aboriginal land rights as they are in the Northern Territory of Australia. Gumbert recognizes that the problems that all Australian Aboriginal people confront will not be

resolved by land rights. He concludes by taking note of the fact that the majority of the 150,000 Aboriginal people in Australia live under conditions of extreme deprivation and that only reparation and compensation can help to alleviate these conditions: "The common denominator of such reparatory measures is not mere land rights but rather, the acquisition of such different forms of means of production as will enable Aborigines to establish, once again, an economically viable measure of self-determination" (198).

With that point in mind, readers will find the book to be an excellent summary and analysis, as well as a useful reference source. I hope that Gumbert will publish something to bring readers up to date on the more recent developments in this gripping and sometimes tragic era in Australian social life.

## NOTES

Since 1980 I have worked extensively with Aboriginal people in the Victoria River District of the NT. My research is oriented toward questions relating to religion, morality, and ecology. I have also been involved in land claim procedures.

1. In order of discussion, these claims are: Alyawarra and Kaititja Land Claim, Uluru (Ayers Rock) National Park and Lake Amadeus/Luritja Land Claim, Yingawunarri (Old Top Springs) Mudbura Land Claim, Anmatjirra and Alyawarra Land Claim to Utopia Pastoral Lease, Lander Warlpiri Anmatjirra Land Claim to Willowra Pastoral Lease, Limmen Bight Land Claim.

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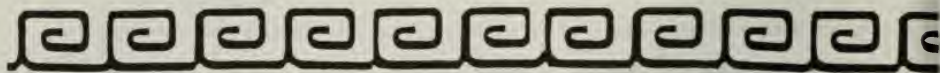
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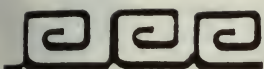
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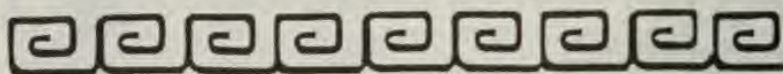
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